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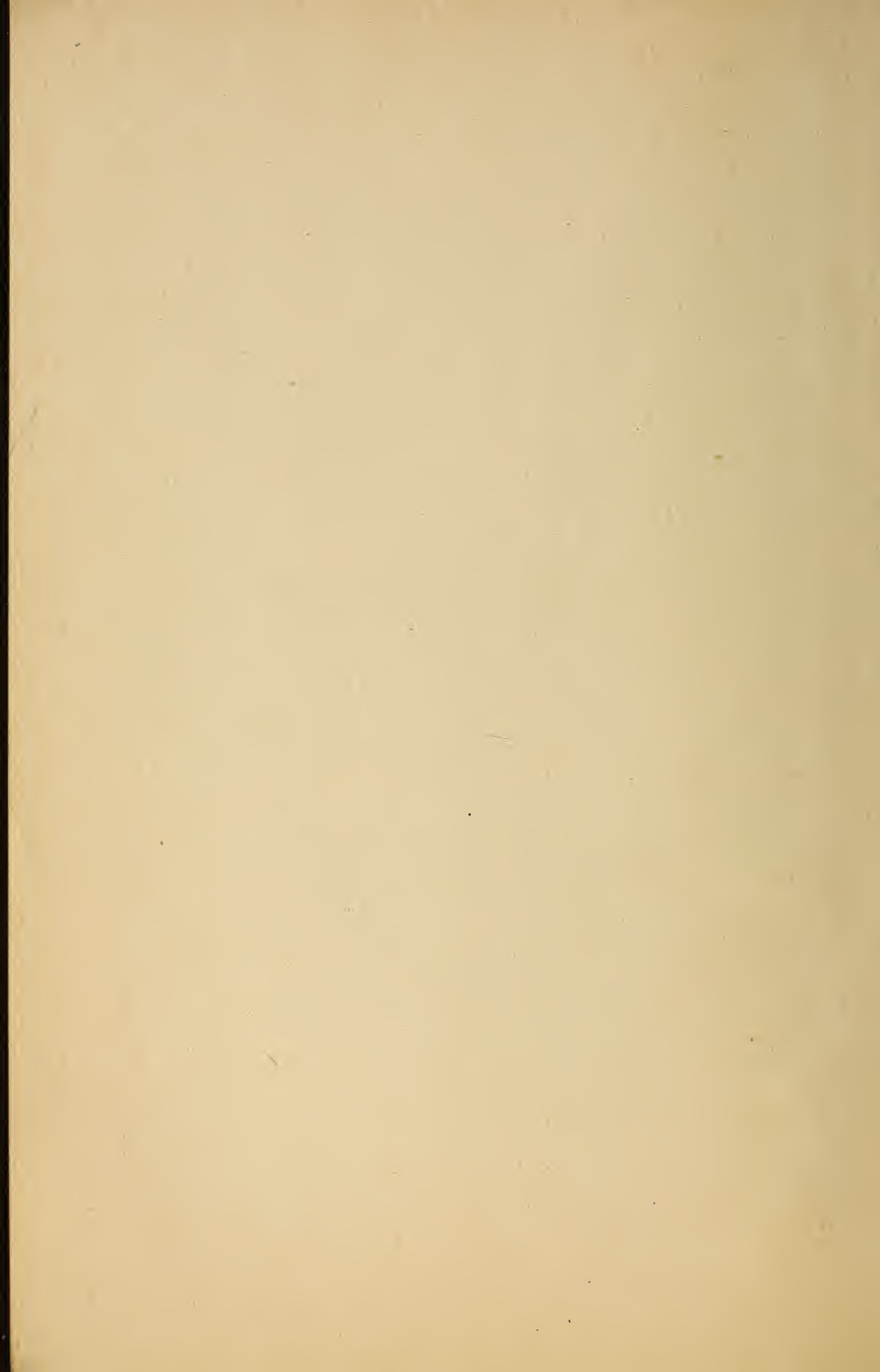


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AMERICANIZATION



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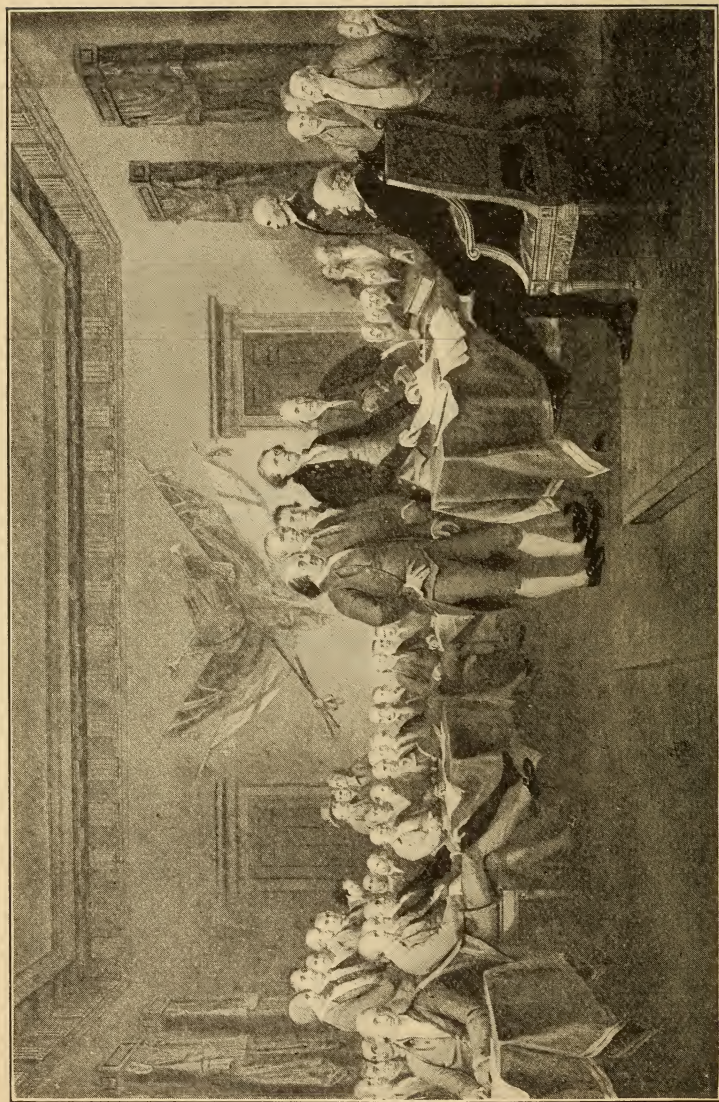
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THE SIGNING OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

Trumbull

AMERICANIZATION

A SCHOOL READER AND SPEAKER

By

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Formerly

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New York

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PREFACE

"Americanization—to give the term its most comprehensive meaning—is the business of making good American citizens, the business of acquainting every one who inhabits American soil with both physical and spiritual America, to the end that this acquaintance may result in a sturdy loyalty to American institutions and American ideals, and in the habit of living the life of the good American citizen. To Americanize America it is necessary, truly to reach the native born and the immigrant, the adult and the child in school; and incidentally, the task of Americanizing the newcomer will be rendered comparatively easy if we can but succeed first in Americanizing ourselves."

In this "business of making good American citizens" we naturally think, first of all, of the citizens-in-the-making, the boys and girls in our schools; for Americanization, broadly considered, means education for citizenship.

This book is intended for use in the intermediate, grammar, and lower high school grades as a reader and speaker. It contains selections from historic American documents and from the writings and speeches of eminent publicists, dealing with various phases of the Americanization problem. The selections are grouped under the following captions: (1) Foundation Stones in our History and Institutions, (2) The Story and Meaning of Our Flag, (3) Great Names in American History, (4) Incentives to Patriotism, (5) Present-day Problems.

Each selection, though a unit in thought, is limited in

PREFACE

length. This plan was adopted for a two-fold purpose: (1) to multiply the units of interest, and (2) to render the selections adaptable for memoriter delivery either in class exercises or in declamation contests. Whether the book is used as a reader or as a speaker, or both, the "questions and exercises" appended to many of the selections will serve to aid in the thought interpretation, to stimulate interest, and to suggest topics for class discussions.

If this book serves to fix more definitely in the minds of the children in our schools the basic principles of American institutions and government, to bring to these citizens-of-to-morrow a keener appreciation of the nature, privileges, and duties of good citizenship, and to incite in them a spirit of loyalty and service—the editor's purpose will be accomplished.

The University of Texas
September, 1920.

ELLWOOD GRISCOM, JR.

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AMERICANIZATION

PART ONE
FOUNDATION STONES IN OUR
HISTORY AND INSTITUTIONS

AMERICANIZATION

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

On June 7, 1776, more than a year after the battles of Lexington and Concord, Richard Henry Lee introduced in the Continental Congress a resolution which stated that "The united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states." A committee was appointed on June 10th to draw up a formal declaration of independence. The actual composition of this document was the work of Thomas Jefferson. John Adams writing to his wife said, "Yesterday, the greatest question was decided which ever was debated in America, and a greater, perhaps, never was debated among men. The second day of July, 1776, will be the most memorable epoch in the history of America." The preamble to the Declaration, slightly amended and adopted July 4, 1776, in the form we have to-day, runs as follows:

When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among

these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

Then, after giving a list of the wrongs suffered by the Colonies at the hands of the British government, the Declaration concludes as follows:

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by

When the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people
to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to
assume among the powers of the earth the separate & equal station to which the
laws of nature and of nature's god entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of
mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the
separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal;
that they are endowed by their creator with inherent and inalienable rights,
that among these are life, liberty, & the pursuit of happiness; that to secure

authority of the good people of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Did the American leaders have any thought of separation from Great Britain at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War?
2. What was the attitude of the British people toward the Colonists?
3. What was the attitude of the British government?

DECLARATION OF THE CAUSES AND NECESSITY OF TAKING UP ARMS

THOMAS JEFFERSON

June 23, 1775, a committee was appointed by the president of the Continental Congress "to draw up a declaration, to be published by General Washington upon his arrival at the camp before Boston." The report was brought in the next day, and, after debate, was recommitted, and Dickinson and Jefferson added to the committee. A draft prepared by Jefferson being thought by Dickinson to be too outspoken, the latter prepared a new one, retaining, however, the closing

paragraphs as drawn by Jefferson. In this form the declaration was reported June twenty-seventh, and agreed to July sixth. The closing paragraphs which Jefferson composed are as follows:

We are reduced to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritated ministers, or resistance by force. The latter is our choice. We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery. Honor, justice, and humanity forbid us tamely to surrender that freedom which we received from our gallant ancestors, and which our innocent posterity have a right to receive from us. We cannot endure the infamy and guilt of resigning succeeding generations to that wretchedness which inevitably awaits them, if we basely entail hereditary bondage upon them.

Our cause is just. Our union is perfect. Our internal resources are great, and, if necessary, foreign assistance is undoubtedly attainable. We gratefully acknowledge, as signal instances of the Divine favor toward us, that His Providence would not permit us to be called into this severe controversy, until we were grown up to our present strength, had been previously exercised in warlike operation, and possessed of the means of defending ourselves. With hearts fortified with these animating reflections, we most solemnly before God and the world declare that exerting the utmost energy of those powers, which our beneficent Creator hath bestowed upon us, the arms we have been compelled by our enemies to assume, we will, in defiance of every hazard, with unabating firmness and perseverance, employ for the preservation of our liberties; being with one mind resolved to die freemen than to live slaves.

Lest this declaration should disquiet the minds of our

friends and fellow-subjects in any part of the empire, we assure them that we mean not to dissolve that union which has so long and so happily subsisted between us, and which we sincerely wish to see restored. Necessity has not yet driven us into that desperate measure, nor induced us to excite any other nation to war against them. We have not raised armies with ambitious designs of separating from Great Britain, and establishing independent states. We fight not for glory or for conquest. We exhibit to mankind the remarkable spectacle of a people attacked by unprovoked enemies, without any imputation or suspicion of offense. They boast of their privileges and civilization, and yet proffer no milder conditions than servitude or death.

In our own native land, in defence of the freedom that is our birthright, and which we ever enjoyed till the late violation of it—for the protection of our property, acquired solely by the honest industry of our forefathers and ourselves, against violence actually offered, we have taken up arms. We shall lay them down when hostilities shall cease on the part of our aggressors, and their all danger of being renewed shall be removed, and not before.

With an humble confidence in the mercies of the supreme and impartial Judge and Ruler of the Universe, we most devoutly implore His divine goodness to protect us happily through this great conflict, to dispose our adversaries to reconciliation on reasonable terms, and thereby to relieve the empire from the calamities of civil war.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What part of this ovation suggests the famous oration of Patrick Henry?
2. In what passages does Jefferson show his

firm trust in God? 3. Point out a sentence of which the meaning is not complete until the last word. 4. What is the value of the periodic sentence?

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

CARL SCHURZ

Let your imagination carry you back to the year 1776. You stand in the hall of the old Colonial Court House of Philadelphia. Through the open door you see the Continental Congress assembled; the moment for a great decision is drawing near.

The first little impulses to the general upheaval of the popular spirit, the Tea Tax, the Stamp Act, drop into insignificance; they are almost forgotten; the revolutionary spirit has risen far above them. It puts the claim to independence upon the broad basis of eternal rights, as self-evident as the sun, as broad as the world, as common as the air of heaven.

The struggle of the colonies against the usurping government of Great Britain has risen to the proud dimensions of a struggle of man for liberty and equality. Not only the supremacy of old England is to be shaken off, but a new organization of society is to be built up, on the basis of liberty and equality. That is the Declaration of Independence! That is the American Revolution!

It is a common thing that men of a coarse cast of mind so lose themselves in the mean pursuit of selfish ends as to become insensible to the grand and sublime. Measuring every character, and every event in history, by the low standard of their own individualities, incapable of grasping broad and generous ideas, they will belittle every great thing they cannot deny, and drag down every struggle of principle to the sordid arena of aspiring selfishness.

Eighteen hundred years ago there were men who saw in incipient Christianity nothing but a mere wrangle between Jewish theologians, by a carpenter's boy, and carried on by a few crazy fishermen. Three hundred years ago there were men who saw in the great reformatory movement of the sixteenth century, not the emancipation of the individual conscience, but a mere fuss raised by a German monk who wanted to get married. Two hundred years ago there were men who saw in Hampden's refusal to pay ship money, not a bold vindication of constitutional liberty, but the crazy antics of a man who was mean enough to quarrel about a few shillings.

And now, there are men who see in the Declaration of Independence and the American Revolution, not the reorganization of human society upon a basis of liberty and equality, but a dodge of some English colonists who were unwilling to pay their taxes.

It is in vain for demagogism to raise its short arms against the truth of history. The Declaration of Independence stands there. No candid man ever read it without seeing and feeling that every word of it was dedicated by deep and earnest thought, and that every sentence of it bears the stamp of philosophic generality.

It is the summing up of the results of the philosophical development of the age; the practical embodiment of the progressive ideas, which, far from being confined to the narrow limits of the English colonies, pervaded the very atmosphere of all civilized countries.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Who was Carl Schurz? 2. What is meant by "It is vain for demagogism to raise its short arms against the truth of history"?

IMAGINARY SPEECH OF JOHN ADAMS

DANIEL WEBSTER

In his eulogy on Adams and Jefferson, Daniel Webster gave the following imaginary speech of John Adams in urging the adoption of the Declaration of Independence:

Sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish, I give my hand and my heart to this vote. It is true, indeed, that in the beginning we aimed not at independence, but there's a divinity which shapes our ends. The injustice of England has driven us to arms; and, blinded to her own interest for our good, she has obstinately persisted, till independence is now within our grasp. We have but to reach forth to it, and it is ours. Why, then, should we defer the declaration?

Is any man so weak as now to hope for a reconciliation with England, which shall leave either safety to the country and its liberties, or safety to his own life and his own honor? Cut off from all hope of royal clemency what are you, what can you be, while the power of England remains, but outlaws? If we postpone independence, do we mean to carry on or to give up the war? Do we mean to submit to the measures of Parliament, Boston Port Bill and all? Do we mean to submit, and consent that we ourselves shall be ground to powder, and our country and its rights trodden down in the dust?

If we fail, it can be no worse for us. But we shall not fail. The cause will raise up armies; the cause will create navies. The people, the people, if we are true to them, will carry us, and will carry themselves, gloriously through this struggle. I care not how fickle other people have been found. I know the people of these colonies,

and I know that resistance to British aggression is deep and settled in their hearts, and cannot be eradicated. Every colony, indeed, has expressed its willingness to follow, if we but take the lead.

Sir, the declaration will inspire the people with increased courage. Instead of a long and bloody war for the restoration of privileges, for redress of grievances, for chartered immunities held under a British king, set before them the glorious object of entire independence, and it will breathe into them anew the breath of life. Read this declaration at the head of the army; every sword will be drawn from its scabbard, and the solemn vow uttered, to maintain it, or to perish on the bed of honor. Publish it from the pulpit; religion will approve it, and the love of religious liberty will cling around public halls; proclaim it there; let them hear it who heard the first roar of the enemy's cannon; let them see it who saw their brothers and their sons fall on Concord, and the very walls will cry out in its support.

Sir, before God, I believe the hour is come. My judgment approves this measure, and my whole heart is in it. All that I have, all that I am, and all that I hope in this life, I am now ready here to stake upon it; and I leave off as I began, that, live or die, survive or perish, I am for this declaration. It is my living sentiment, and, by the blessing of God, it shall be my dying sentiment—*independence now*, and INDEPENDENCE FOREVER!

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Under what circumstances was this speech supposedly delivered? 2. What is the present policy of Great Britain toward her colonies?

BACK TO THE DECLARATION

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

In his campaign for the Senate, against Stephen A. Douglas in 1858, Abraham Lincoln said:

The Declaration of Independence was formed by the representatives of American liberty from thirteen states of the confederacy. These communities, by their representatives in old Independence Hall, said to the whole world of men: "We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." This was their majestic interpretation of the economy of the Universe. This was their lofty, and wise, and noble understanding of the justice of the Creator to His creatures. Yes, gentlemen, to all His creatures, to the whole great family of man. In their enlightened belief nothing stamped with the divine image and likeness was sent into the world to be trodden on and degraded and imbruted by its fellows. They grasped not only the whole race of man then living, but they reached forward and seized upon the farthest posterity. They erected a beacon to guide their children, and their children's children, and the countless myriads who should inhabit the earth in other ages. Wise statesmen as they were, they knew the tendency of prosperity to breed tyrants, and so they established these great self-evident truths, that when in the distant future some man, some faction, some interest, should set up the doctrine that none but rich men were entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, their posterity might look up again to the Declaration of Independence and take courage to renew the battle which their fathers

began, so that truth and justice and mercy and all the humane and Christian virtues might not be extinguished from the land, so that no man would hereafter dare to limit and circumscribe the great principles on which the temple of liberty was being built.

Now, if you have been taught doctrines conflicting with the great landmarks of the Declaration of Independence; if you have listened to suggestions which would take away from its grandeur and mutilate the fair symmetry of its proportions; if you have been inclined to believe that all men are not created equal in those inalienable rights enumerated by our chart of liberty, let me entreat you to come back. Return to the fountain whose waters spring close by the blood of the revolution. Think nothing of me—take no thought for the political fate of any man whomsoever—but come back to the truths that are in the Declaration of Independence. You may do anything with me you choose, if you will but heed these sacred principles. You may not only defeat me for the Senate, but you may take me and put me to death. While pretending no indifference to earthly honors, I do claim to be actuated in this contest by something higher than any anxiety for office. I charge you to drop every paltry and insignificant thought for any man's success. It is nothing; I am nothing; Judge Douglas is nothing. But do not destroy the immortal emblem of Humanity—the Declaration of American Independence.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What does the Declaration of Independence mean when it says that "all men are created equal"? 2. Who was Judge Douglas? In the opening sentence what is this "confederacy" that Lincoln mentions?

BILL OF RIGHTS

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

The English common law, upon which English and American liberties are based, was slowly evolved through centuries of growth. Its maxims embody the most sacred beliefs of our race. It is that "law of the land" to which the Magna Charta refers, and its essential principles are those of the Petition of Right of Charles I, and the Bill of Rights and Act of Settlement of the Revolution of 1688. The Constitution of the United States, framed in Philadelphia, in 1787, breathes forth the ancient Anglo-Saxon love of liberty regulated by precedent and law, their love of order and discipline, their hatred of tyranny, their belief in the inalienable rights of man, and their instinct, as old as the race itself, for local and representative government. As long as Americans observe the spirit of the American Constitution, especially the first ten Amendments thereto, commonly known as The Bill of Rights, our present civilization is safe. Our "Bill of Rights" is embodied in the following ten articles of the Constitution:

I. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

II. A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms shall not be infringed.

III. No soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

IV. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

V. No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of war or in public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

VI. In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

VII. In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

VIII. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor exces-

sive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

IX. The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

X. The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Is it ever necessary to suspend the Bill of Rights? 2. What is the danger resulting therefrom? Cite an example from recent history, particularly with reference to Articles I and IV.

DON'T DISLOCATE THE AMERICAN IDEA*

WILLIAM MCANDREW

Too commonly our school gives us our opinions ready-made. We put too much faith in what we see in print. If public opinion, which is your opinion and mine, is to be at its best it must be what we reach, not by absorbing the ideas of the man who talks the loudest, but by digesting what we hear and read. But we are not to disregard the experiences of the great men who gave years of thought and effort to the forming of our national ideals.

They chose a few great principles on which they built our nation. They wrote them into the two great basic documents of our civic life: the Declaration and the Constitution. They proclaimed, first, the principle of equality.

Equality means fraternity, brotherhood, fair dealing, exclusion of no one from public benefits because of race or poverty or lowly birth. It means rejection of inherited

*By courtesy of the author.

titles of nobility. It means avoidance of distinctions tending to put one man above another. Equality is an essential of the American Idea.

Another phase of the Idea is the inalienable right to life. In old-world times a monarch owned his subjects. "Off with his head" was warrant enough to put a king's enemy out of the way. The right to life has been invaded by others than kings. If the greed of profiteers and the ignorance of parents place undeveloped children in factories and mines the American Idea of the right of all to life is gone. Against this greed the public schools stand as the best proposal of the national purpose to give to all the people a chance to live a rounded, intelligent, complete, American life.

The next conception of the national ideal is liberty. It has been from the first a watchword on our lips. We could persuade ourselves into as much stupidity about the meaning of liberty as we could about the other thing: equality. But if we use our common sense and knowledge of history we can reach a workable idea of liberty. Washington led the fighting for it but he had no doubt of its meaning when he said "we must distinguish between licentiousness and liberty, we must recognize the difference between oppression and necessary authority." The Fathers of the Republic proclaimed liberty of speech, liberty of thought, freedom from attending a state church, liberty to change the government by fair and orderly means: elections. They took no single idea and pushed it to an impossible extreme. They were practical men, the best minds the country afforded. They thought of liberty of the single man in connection with the benefit of all men. They always coupled liberty with another idea, the thought of union. Liberty may seem to be my personal benefit. If that is all it means it

is a cheap and selfish notion. But as the Declaration told the world of our *freedom* from the rule of kings and nobles, the Constitution advertised our purpose to *unite* for a common, not a personal, welfare. So are these principles blended, liberty and union, now and forever one and inseparable. To assail our union, our government, our brotherhood, in the interest of personal liberty, license, unbounded freedom, is to break our national ideal all to pieces and to rush backward toward the barbarism that existed before man set aside his selfishness to form coöperative government, without which we should still be roaming in the woods and fighting daily for enough to eat.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Review carefully the third paragraph, and point out certain things that the American doctrine of equality does not mean. 2. With reference to the American doctrine of liberty, give examples both of undue governmental repression and of excessive individual license.

THE GREAT CHARTER*

U. M. ROSE

No one can sum up the debt that we owe to the Magna Charta, the one great product of the Middle Ages. We look back with feelings of aversion and pity to that dark and troubled period; to its insane crusades, to its fanatical intolerance, to its pedantic and barren literature, to its scholastic disputes, to its cruelty, rapine, and bloodshed. But the genius that presides over human destiny never sleeps; and it was precisely in that most sterile and unpromising age that the groundwork

*Extract from a paper on "The Rise of Constitutional Law," read before the Pennsylvania State Bar Association, June 25, 1901.

was laid for all that is valuable in modern civilization. As an unborn forest sleeps unconsciously in an acorn cup, all the creations and all the potentialities of that civilization lay enfolded in the guaranty of personal liberty and of the supremacy of the law that was secured at Runnymede. The various bills and petitions of right, and the Habeas Corpus Act, while they have given new sanctions to liberty, are but echoes of the Great Charter; and our Declaration of Independence is but the Magna Charta writ large, and expanded to meet the wants of a new generation of freemen, fighting the battle of life beneath other skies.

“Worth all the classics!” Yes, the classics that have survived and the classics that have perished. Dear as might be to us the lost books of Livy, whose pictured page is torn just where its highest interest begins, or even some song of Homer, which, now lost in space, shall charm the ear and bewitch the human heart no more, we could not exchange for them a single word of those uncouth but grand old sentences, which, having taken the wings of the morning, have incorporated themselves with almost every system of laws in Christendom, and which still ring out in our American constitution with a sound like that of the trampling of armed men, marching confidently up to battle; words which for ages have stayed the hand of tyranny, and which have extended their protection over the infant sleeping in its cradle, over the lonely, the desolate, the sorrowful, and the oppressed. Uttered by unwilling lips, and believed by the wretch from whom it was extorted that it had scarcely an hour to live, the Magna Charta marks an epoch in the annals of mankind. It began a revolution that has never gone backward for a single moment; and was the precursor of that civilization the dawn of

which our eyes have looked upon with joy and pride, and whose full meridian splendor can be foreseen by God alone.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. The American Bill of Rights is adapted from the Magna Charta. Can you enumerate these rights as stated in the first ten amendments to our constitution? 2. What king was forced by his barons to grant them the charter known as the Magna Charter?

THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION

JOSEPH ADDISON

Our American Constitution has derived more from the English constitution and charters than from any other one source. We are heirs to all that is best in English life and letters. There is a brotherhood of common beliefs that binds the two nations as no treaties or agreements ever could. It is with a feeling of profound gratitude and pride, therefore, that we acknowledge our kinship to the great minds of England and the debt we owe them.

Regarding the English form of government, it is interesting to note that about 1711, Joseph Addison wrote as follows:

I look upon it as a peculiar happiness that were I to choose of what religion I would be, and under what government I would live, I would most certainly give the preference to that form of religion and government which is established in my own country. In this point I think I am determined by reason and conviction; but if I shall be told that I am acted by prejudice, I am sure it is an honest prejudice; it is a prejudice that arises

from the love of my country, and therefore such an one as I will always indulge.

That form of government appears to me the most reasonable, which is most conformable to the equality we find in human nature, provided it be consistent with public peace and tranquility. This is what may properly be called liberty, which exempts one man from subjection to another so far as the order and economy of government will permit.

Liberty should reach every individual of a people, as they all share one common nature; if it only spreads among particular branches, there had better be none at all, since such liberty only aggravates the misfortune of those who are deprived of it, by setting before them a disagreeable subject of comparison.

This liberty is best preserved, where the legislative power is lodged in several persons, especially if those persons are of different ranks and interests; for where they are of the same rank, and consequently have an interest to manage peculiar to that rank, it differs but little from a despotical government in a single person.

It is odd to consider the connection between despotical government and barbarity, and how the making of one person more than man, makes the rest less. Riches and plenty are the natural fruits of liberty, and where these abound, learning and all the liberal arts will immediately lift up their heads and flourish. As a man must have no slavish fears and apprehensions hanging upon his mind, who will indulge the flights of fancy or speculation, and push his researches into all the abstruse corners for truth, so it is necessary for him to have about him a competency of all the conveniences of life.

Besides poverty and want, there are other reasons that debase the minds of men who live under slavery,

though I look upon it as the principal. This natural tendency of despotic power to ignorance and barbarity, though not insisted upon by others, is, I think, an unanswerable argument against that form of government, as it shows how repugnant it is to the good of mankind and the perfection of human nature, which ought to be the ends of all civil institutions.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What change was effected in the English government by the revolution of 1688? 2. Find points of similarity between the English and American governments.

ENTANGLING ALLIANCES*

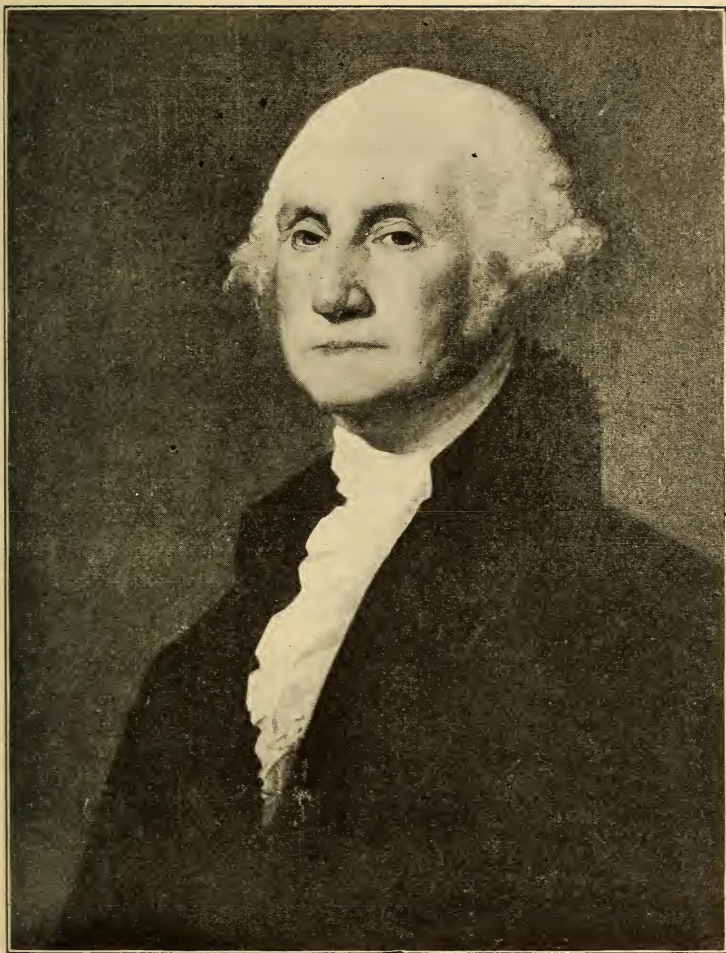
GEORGE WASHINGTON

Washington refused to be a candidate for a third term of the presidency; and, in May, 1796, he sent to Hamilton a rough draft of his farewell address, asking for his criticism. After much revision by both, the document was published September 19th, and was read to the House of Representatives. The advice contained in it has ever since exercised a profound influence on the policy of the nation. Washington says in part:

The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little *political* connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial

*Adapted from the Farewell Address.



GEORGE WASHINGTON

ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships, or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupulously respected. When belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice?

'Tis our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. But in my opinion it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand: neither seeking nor granting exclusive

favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things. . . .

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish, that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations. But if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit; some occasional good, that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism, this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude of your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Does Washington's advice, offered in 1796, apply to present-day conditions? 2. What modern inventions have effected a change from America's previous isolation from Europe?

THE GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHED BY THE CONSTITUTION*

ELIHU ROOT

The Constitution of the United States deals in the main with essentials. There are some non-essential directions such as those relating to the methods of election and of legislation, but in the main it sets forth the foundations of government in clear, simple, concise terms. It is for this reason that it has stood the test of more than a century with but slight amendment, while the modern state constitutions, into which a multitude of ordinary

*From *Experiments in Government*. Copyright, 1913, by the Princeton University Press. Reprinted by permission.

statutory provisions are crowded, have to be changed from year to year. The peculiar and essential qualities of the government established by the Constitution are:

First, it is representative.

Second, it recognizes the liberty of the individual citizen as distinguished from the total mass of citizens, and it protects that liberty by specific limitations upon the power of government.

Third, it distributes the legislative, executive, and judicial powers, which make up the sum total of all government, into three separate departments, and specifically limits the powers of the officers of each department.

Fourth, it superimposes upon a federation of state governments a national government with sovereignty acting directly not merely upon the states, but upon the citizens of each state, within a line of limitation drawn between the powers of the national government and the powers of the state governments.

Fifth, it makes observance of its limitations requisite to the validity of laws, whether passed by the nation or by the states, to be judged by the courts of law in each concrete case as it arises.

Every one of these five characteristics of the government established by the Constitution was a distinct advance beyond the ancient attempts at popular government, and the elimination of any one of them would be a retrograde movement and a reversion to a former and discarded type of government. In each case it would be the abandonment of a distinctive feature of government which has succeeded, in order to go back and try again the methods of government which have failed. Of course we ought not to take such a backward step except under the pressure of inevitable necessity.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What is the difference between a government by representation and a pure democracy? 2. How does our Constitution recognize "the liberty of the individual citizen"? 3. Why is ours called a government of balanced powers? 4. What are the dangers of an over-centralized government? 5. Give an example of the author's fifth point.

THE FRAME OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENT*

JAMES BRYCE

Every European State has to fear not only the rivalry but the aggression of its neighbors. Even Britain, so long safe in her insular home, has lost some of her security by the growth of steam navies. She, like the powers of the European continent, must maintain her system of government in full efficiency for war as well as for peace, and cannot afford to let her armaments decline, her finances become disordered, the vigor of her Executive authority be impaired.

Had Canada or Mexico grown to be a great power, had France not sold Louisiana, or had England, rooted on the American continent, become a military despotism, the United States could not indulge the easy optimism which makes them tolerate the faults of their government. As it is, that which might prove to a European State a mortal disease is here nothing worse than a teasing ailment. Since the War of Secession ended, no serious danger has arisen either from within or from without to alarm American statesmen. Social convulsions from within, warlike assaults from without, seem now as unlikely to try the fabric of the American

*From *The American Commonwealth* (Revise Edition), Part I, Chapter XXVI. Reprinted by permission of The Macmillan Company.

Constitution as an earthquake to rend the walls of the Capitol.

It must never be forgotten that the main object which the framers of the Constitution set before themselves has been achieved. When Sieyes was asked what he had done during the Reign of Terror, he answered, "I lived." The Constitution as a whole has stood and stands unshaken. The scales of power have continued to hang fairly even. The president has not corrupted and enslaved Congress: Congress has not paralyzed and cowed the president. The legislature may have sometimes appeared to be gaining on the executive department; but there are also times when the people support the president against the legislature, and when the legislature is obliged to recognize the fact. Were George Washington to return to earth, he might be as great and useful a president as he was more than a century ago. Neither the legislature nor the executive has for a moment threatened the liberties of the people. The states have not broken up the Union, and the Union has not absorbed the states. No wonder that the Americans are proud of an instrument under which this great result has been attained, which has passed unscathed through the furnace of civil war, which has been found capable of embracing a body of commonwealths more than three times as numerous, and with twenty-fold the population of the original states, which has cultivated the political intelligence of the masses to a point reached in no other country, which has fostered and been found compatible with a larger measure of local self-government than has existed elsewhere. Nor is it the least of its merits to have made itself beloved. Objections may be taken to particular features, and these objections point, as most American

thinkers are agreed, to practical improvements which would preserve the excellences and remove some of the inconveniences. But reverence for the Constitution has become so potent a conservative influence, that no proposal of fundamental change seems likely to be entertained. And this reverence is itself one of the most wholesome and hopeful elements in the character of the American people.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. When was the Constitution last amended? 2. When, and to whom, did France sell Louisiana? 3. What are "social convulsions"? Give an example.

THE OLDEST FREE ASSEMBLIES*

ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR

The House of Representatives and the British House of Commons are the greatest and oldest of the free assemblies now governing great nations in the world. The history of the two is very different. The beginnings of the British House of Commons go back to a dim historic past and its full rights and status have only been conquered and permanently secured after centuries of political struggle.

Your fate has been a happier one. You were called into existence at a much later stage of social development. You came into being complete and perfected, and all your powers determined and your place in the constitution secured beyond chance of revolution; but, though the history of these two assemblies is different, each of them represents the great democratic principles

*From a speech in the United States House of Representatives, 1917.

to which we look forward as the security for the future peace of the world.

All of the free assemblies now to be found governing the great nations of the earth have been modeled either upon your practice or upon ours or upon both combined.

We all, I think, feel instinctively that this is one of the great moments in the history of the world, and that what is happening on both sides of the Atlantic represents the drawing together of great and free peoples for mutual protection against the aggression of military despotism.

I am not one of those who are such bad democrats as to say that democracies make no mistakes. All free assemblies have made blunders; sometimes they have committed crimes. And yet, may we not look forward with confidence to the spirit of free institutions as one of the greatest guarantees of the future peace of the world?

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. How does the British House of Commons differ from our House of Representatives as to time of choosing its members?
2. Does England, as is sometimes claimed, have a more democratic government than America?

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE

GEORGE BANCROFT

The sovereignty of the people is the basis of our system. With the people the power resides both theoretically and practically. The government is a determined, uncompromising democracy, administered immediately by the people, or by the people's responsible agents. • In all the European treatises on political economy, and even in the state papers of the Holy

Alliance, the welfare of the people is acknowledged to be the object of government. We believe so too; but as each man's interests are safest in his own keeping, so, in like manner, the interests of the people can be best guarded by themselves. If the institution of monarchy were neither tyrannical nor oppressive, it should at least be dispensed with as a costly superfluity.

We believe the sovereign power should reside equally among the people. We acknowledge no hereditary distinctions, and we confer on no man prerogatives of peculiar privileges. Even the best services rendered the state cannot destroy this original and essential equality. Legislation and justice are not hereditary offices; no one is born to power, no one handed into political greatness. Our government, as it rests for support on reason and our interests, needs no protection from a nobility; and the strength and ornament of the land consist in its industry and morality, its justice and intelligence.

The states of Europe are all intimately allied with the church and fortified by religious sanctions. We approve of the influence of the religious principle on public not less than on private life; but we hold religion to be an affair between each individual conscience and God, superior to all political institutions and independent of them. Christianity was neither introduced nor reformed by the civil power; and with us the modes of worship are in no wise prescribed by the state.

Thus, then, the people govern, and solely; it does not divide its power with an hierarchy, a nobility, or a king. The popular voice is all-powerful with us; this is our oracle, and this, we acknowledge, is the voice of God. Invention is solitary, but who shall judge its results? Inquiry may pursue truth apart, but who shall decide if truth be overtaken? There is no safe criterion of

opinion but the careful exercise of the public judgment; and in the science of government, as elsewhere, the deliberate convictions of mankind, reasoning on the cause of their own happiness, their own wants and interests, are the surest revelations of political truth.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What was the Holy Alliance?
2. What is an hierarchy?

AMERICAN LIBERTY*

MARY L. BRADY

Principal, East Side Evening High School for Women

Should you analyze the American ideal you would consider liberty an important ingredient of it, wouldn't you? Our country's heroes from Patrick Henry onward glorified it. It enlivens every patriotic song of ours, it speaks in mottoes of American states and cities, it gives meanings to emblems in coats of arms and decorations, our beautiful allegorical figure is the Goddess of Liberty. There are keen-minded souls, mostly young and often born abroad, interesting members of our classes, who repeat "America is no land of liberty." For a year or more, reports from Russia record that this is spoken of America over and over. I have heard it from street orators here, many a time. Evening-school teachers have asked how to meet it. Would it not be well to ask what the questioner's idea of liberty is? Why not show him that liberty in American history, has, from the beginning, had an American meaning, possibly different from the definition he wants to give? American Liberty has meant freedom to worship according to your own religion, freedom from the rule of hereditary monarchs

*From *Night Message*, New York Evening Schools.

who claimed divine right to power, freedom to vote as you choose, to change the national government every four years, the state and municipal governments more frequently; freedom from attainder and entail, from imprisonment for many acts still punishable in other countries, freedom from trial without a right to be heard or without the decision of a jury.

But American liberty has not only always meant freedom of the people to govern themselves by representatives of their own choosing, it has always meant that there shall be government. It has always meant order and respect for the will of the majority. If religious freedom was used as a cloak for polygamy, a practice revolting to the proprieties respected by the majority, religious freedom was restricted. Tell the story of the Mormons. If freedom of speech threatened the peace of the Nation, freedom of speech was curtailed. Tell the story of the pestiferous Citizen Genet and the Alien and Sedition Laws. If freedom of action meant resistance to the law, freedom was refused. Tell the story of Washington, a father of liberty, and what he thought of the Whiskey Rebellion. If the idea of liberty led states to attempt to dissolve the nation, other states prevented it by force. Tell the story of Andrew Jackson and South Carolina, of Lincoln and the great lesson of the civil war. Show that liberty has always been, in America, indissolubly linked with union. "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable," has been an American watchword for more than half a century.

Absolute, unrestrained liberty was never an American aim. On the contrary the dangers of unorganized liberty, liberty which meant disorder, anarchy, personal selfishness, lack of consideration for the common good, were apprehended immediately after the war of libera-

tion was ended and led the men who had done the most for liberty to set regular and constitutional bounds to it. Show how our original and fundamental instrument, the law of our being, the enactment that made us a Nation, put union first: in order to form a more perfect Union, to establish justice, to insure domestic tranquility, to provide for the common defence, to promote the general welfare and to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and to our posterity, we, the people of the United States, do ordain and establish this constitution. Every one of these phrases is worth a heart-to-heart talk on separate nights with every class in school until by persuasion, by reasonableness, by conviction, a teacher leaves no doubt that the soap-box rantings against present-day America are answerable by the history of American political thought.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE REPUBLIC*

HENRY W. GRADY

Not long since I made a trip to Washington, and as I stood on Capitol Hill my heart beat quick as I looked at the towering marble of my country's Capitol, and the mist gathered in my eyes as I thought of its tremendous significance, and the armies, and the Treasury, and the courts, and congress and the president, and all that was gathered there. And I felt that the sun in all its course could not look down upon a better sight than that majestic home of the Republic that had taught the world its best lessons in liberty.

Two days afterward I went to visit a friend in the country, a modest man, with a quiet country home. It

*From *The Orations and Speeches of Henry W. Grady*, by E. D. Shurter. Used by permission.

was just a simple, unpretentious house, set about with great big trees, encircled in meadow and fields rich with the promise of harvest. The fragrance of pink and hollyhock in the front yard was mingled with the aroma of the orchard and the garden, and resonant with the cluck of poultry and the hum of bees. Inside was quiet, cleanliness, thrift and comfort. Outside there stood my friend—master of his land and master of himself. There was his old father, an aged, trembling man, happy in the heart and home of his son. And as they started to their home the hands of the old man went down on the young man's shoulders, laying there the unspeakable blessing of an honored and grateful father, and ennobling it with the Knighthood of the Fifth Commandment. And I saw the night come down on that home, falling gently as from the wings of an unseen dove, and the old man, while a startled bird called from the forest, and the trees shrilled with the cricket's cry, and the stars were swarming in the sky, got the family around him and, taking the old Bible from the table, called them to their knees, while he closed the record of that simple day by calling down God's blessing on that family and that home.

And while I gazed, the vision of the marble Capitol faded. Forgotten were its treasures and its majesty, and I said: "O, surely, here in the hearts of the people are lodged at last the strength and responsibilities of this government, the hope and promise of this Republic."

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Why is the home "the hope and promise of this Republic"?
2. What conditions in modern times have tended to break up the solidity of the home?

PART TWO
THE STORY AND MEANING OF OUR FLAG

HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN FLAG

Every country has one or more symbols that represent the principles and ideals of its government. The most familiar symbol of a nation is its flag. The flag stands for the nation itself. When we uphold and honor our country's flag, therefore, we are supporting our country itself and all that it means to us. There is more meaning than we sometimes realize in the slogan, "Rally round the Flag."

There were several different flags in Colonial times, but the first real *American* flag had its origin in the following resolution adopted by the American Congress, June 14, 1777: "*Resolved*, That the flag of the thirteen United States be thirteen stripes alternate red and white; that the union be thirteen stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation."

According to the story, a rough pencil drawing, made by Washington himself, was taken to Mrs. Betsy Ross, who kept an upholsterer's shop in Philadelphia. "Can you make a flag after this design?" she was asked. Her answer was, "I don't know, but I'll try." She did try, stitching the seams of every stripe and sewing in the stars in a circle, and this was our first real national flag. No wonder that an association has been formed to buy and keep, for patriotic purposes, the home in which was made, by the hands of Betsy Ross, the first real *American* flag.

Although there has been no material change in the flag as originally designed, its present form was adopted only about one hundred years ago. It was first planned, you will recall, for the thirteen original states. As other states were admitted to the Union, a stripe and a star

were added to the flag. This plan was continued well into the first quarter of the nineteenth century and until the flag had twenty stripes and twenty stars. It was then seen that if a stripe and a star were added for each new state, it would be necessary to increase the size of the flag indefinitely. So on April 4, 1819, Congress enacted:

"That from and after the fourth day of July next, the flag of the United States be thirteen horizontal stripes, alternate red and white; that the union have twenty stars, white in a blue field; that on the admission of every new state into the Union, one star be added to the union of the flag, and that such addition shall take effect on the fourth of July next succeeding such admission."

And thus on July 4, 1819, our flag took the permanent form as we have it to-day. The thirteen red and white stripes and the white constellation of states in the sky-blue field have inspired and guided and protected this great Republic of ours during the past century of our wonderful history, and with our loyal support the flag shall guide and protect America for another century—and another—and for aye!

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What can you tell about the other flags used in Colonial days?
2. What is the proper form of saluting the flag?
3. How should the flag be hung when used for wall decoration?
4. Should it be used for advertising purposes? Why?

THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER*

HENRY WATTERSON

It was during the darkest days of our second war for

*From an address at the dedication of the monument over the grave of the author of "The Star-Spangled Banner," Frederick, Maryland, August 9, 1908. By permission of the author.

independence. An English army had burned the Capitol; an English fleet was in possession of the Chesapeake Bay and both these forces were preparing to attack Baltimore.

In order to secure the liberation of a friend, who was held a prisoner on the British fleet, Francis Scott Key obtained leave of the President to go to the British admiral under a flag of truce. His mission was successful, but he and his companion were kept under guard during the enemy's advance. Thus it was that the night of the fourteenth of September, 1814, Key witnessed the bombardment of Fort McHenry, which his song was to render illustrious. He did not quit the deck the long night through. With a single companion, he watched every shell from the moment it was fired until it fell. As soon as day dawned, and before it was light enough to see objects at a distance, their glasses were turned to the fort, uncertain whether they should see there the Stars and Stripes or the flag of the enemy.

During the night the conception of the poem began to form itself in Key's mind. With the early glow of the morning, when the long agony of suspense had been turned into the rapture of exultation, his feeling found expression in completed lines of verse, which he wrote upon the back of a letter he happened to have in his possession.

The poem tells its own story, and never a truer, for every word comes direct from a great heroic soul, powder-stained and dipped, as it were, in sacred blood.

"O, say, can you see by the dawn's early light

What so proudly we hailed at the twilight's last gleaming,

Whose broad stripes and bright stars, through the perilous fight,

O'er the ramparts we watched were so gallantly streaming?"

The two that walked the deck of the cartel boat had waited long. They had counted the hours as they watched the course of the battle. But a deeper anxiety yet is to possess them. The firing has ceased. Whilst cannon roared they knew that the fort held out. Whilst the sky was lit by messengers of death they could see the national colors flying above it.

—"the rockets' red glare, the bombs bursting in air,
Gave proof through the night that our flag was still there!"

But there comes an end at last to waiting and watching, and as the first rays of the sun shoot above the horizon and gild the eastern shore, behold the sight that gladdens their eyes as it

—"catches the gleam of the morning's first beam,
In full glory reflected now shines on the stream."

for there, over the battlements of McHenry, the Stars and Stripes floats defiant on the breeze, whilst all around evidences multiply that the attack has failed, that the Americans have successfully resisted it, and that the British are withdrawing their forces. For then, and for now, and for all time, come the words of the anthem:

"O, thus be it ever, when freemen shall stand
Between their loved homes and the war's desolation!
Blest with victory and peace, may the heaven-rescued land
Praise the power that hath made and preserved us a nation!"

for—

—"conquer we must when our cause it is just,
And this be our motto, 'In God is our trust';
And the star-spangled banner in triumph shall wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave!"



THE SALUTE TO THE FLAG

LOYALTY PLEDGE

ADAPTED FROM VARIOUS SOURCES

Flag of Freedom! true to thee
All our thoughts, words, deeds shall be,—
Pledging steadfast loyalty!

I pledge allegiance to my flag and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation indivisible, with liberty and justice for all. I believe in the United States of America as a government of the people, by the people, for the people; whose just powers are derived from the consent of the governed; a democracy in a republic; a sovereign nation of many sovereign states; a perfect union, one and inseparable; established upon those principles of freedom, equality, justice, and humanity for which American patriots sacrificed their lives and fortunes.

I, therefore, believe it is my duty to love it, to support its constitution, to obey its laws, to respect its flag, and to defend it against all enemies, for I AM AN AMERICAN!

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Compose a pledge that embodies your ideas of loyalty and patriotism.

THE MAKING OF OUR COUNTRY'S FLAG*

FRANKLIN K. LANE

This morning, as I passed into the Land Office, the flag dropped me a most cordial salutation, and from its rippling folds I heard it say: "Good morning, Mr. Flag-maker."

*Adapted from a speech delivered on Flag Day, 1914, before the employees of the Department of the Interior, Washington, D. C. By permission of the author.

"I beg your pardon, Old Glory," I said, "you are mistaken. I am not the President of the United States, nor the Vice-President, nor a member of Congress, nor even a General in the Army. I am only a Government clerk."

"I greet you again, Mr. Flag-maker," replied the gay voice. "I know you well. You are the man who worked in the swelter of yesterday straightening out the tangle of that farmer's homestead in Idaho."

"No, I am not," I was forced to confess.

"Well, perhaps you are the one who discovered the mistake in that Indian contract in Oklahoma?"

"No, wrong again," I said.

"Well, you helped to clear that patent for the hopeful inventor in New York, or pushed the opening of that new ditch in Colorado, or made that mine in Illinois more safe, or brought relief to the old soldier in Wyoming. No matter, whichever one of these beneficent individuals you may happen to be, I give you greeting, Mr. Flag-maker."

"But," I said, impatiently, "these people were only working."

Then came a great shout from the flag.

"Let me tell you who I am. The work that we do is the making of the real flag. I am not the flag, at all. I am but its shadow. I am whatever you make me, nothing more. I am your belief in yourself, your dream of what a people may become. I live a changing life, a life of moods and passions, of heart breaks and tired muscles. Sometimes I am strong with pride, when men do an honest work, fitting the rails together truly. Sometimes I droop, for then purpose has gone from me, and cynically I play the coward. Sometimes I am loud, garish, and full of that ego that blasts judgment. But

always I am all that you hope to be and have the courage to try for. I am song and fear, struggle and panic, and ennobling hope. I am the day's work of the weakest man and the largest dream of the most daring. I am the Constitution and the courts, statutes and statute-makers, soldier and dreadnought, drayman and street-sweep, cook, counselor, and clerk. I am the battle of yesterday and the mistake of to-morrow. I am the mystery of the men who do without knowing why. I am the clutch of an idea and the reasoned purpose of resolution. I am no more than what you believe me to be, and I am all that you believe I can be. I am what you make me, nothing more. I swing before your eyes as a bright gleam of color, a symbol of yourself, the pictured suggestion of that big thing which makes this nation. My stars and my stripes are your dreams and your labors. They are bright with cheer, brilliant with courage, firm with faith, because you have made them so out of your hearts, for you are the makers of the flag, and it is well that you glory in the making."

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What does the flag mean when it says: "I am what you make me, nothing more"? 2. Why is our flag called "Old Glory"? How does James Whitcomb Riley answer this question in his poem, "The Name of Old Glory"?

THE NATIONAL FLAG

HENRY WARD BEECHER

A thoughtful mind, when it sees a nation's flag, sees not the flag, but the nation itself. And whatever may be its symbols, its insignia, he reads chiefly in the flag the government, the principles, the truths, the history, that

belongs to the nation that sets it forth. When the French tricolor rolls out to the wind we see France. When the new-found Italian flag is unfurled, we see resurrected Italy. When the united crosses of St. Andrew and St. George, on a fiery ground, set forth the banner of Old England, we see not the cloth merely; there rises up before the mind the idea of that great monarchy.

This nation has a banner, too; and until recently wherever it streamed abroad men saw daybreak bursting on their eyes. For until lately the American flag has been a symbol of Liberty, and men rejoiced in it. Not another flag on the globe had such an errand, or went forth upon the sea carrying everywhere, the world around, such hope to the captive and such glorious tidings. The stars upon it were to the pining nations like the bright morning stars of God, and the stripes upon it were beams of morning light. As at early dawn the stars shine forth even while it grows light, and then as the sun advances that light breaks into banks and streaming lines of color, the glowing red and intense white striving together, and ribbing the horizon with bars effulgent, so, on the American flag, stars and beams of many-colored light shine out together. And wherever this flag comes and men behold it they see in its sacred emblazonry no ramping lion and no fierce eagle; no embattled castles or insignia of imperial authority; they see the symbols of light. It is the banner of Dawn.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Who made the first American flag?
2. Where and under what circumstances was it made?
3. Why does our flag have five-pointed instead of six-pointed stars?

AMERICA'S MISSION*

FRANKLIN K. LANE

What is the story of America? Is it told in the flag? The flag is but a symbol. It represents hopes and achievements, and longings and fears; but the flag is not America.

The story of America is not told by the story of the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers, or by the story of the advance of the immigrant across the continent in conquering this country. It is not told by the story of the battle of Yorktown, or Gettysburg, or Santiago, or Manila. It is not told by our great inventions and our great inventors, Whitney and Edison. It is not told by outlining the philosophy of Henry James, William James or Emerson. It is not told by our poetry, through Poe, through Longfellow and through Lowell.

America is an aspiration. America is a spirit. America is something mystical which lives in the heavens. It is the constant and continuous searching of the human heart for the thing that has been.

The people that I love, the people that make a common nation with me, are the people into whose eyes I can look with frankness and directness, and know that what they say, they mean. They are people whom I instinctively understand, who speak my language.

The people that I love, and the people who make the land that I love, are people who can put their hands down into the soil of this country, and take their hands out and smell that soil, and say "That is ours; we are identified with it; we are tied to it and we love it, and will fight and sacrifice for it."

*Adapted from an article in *The Delineator*, August, 1918. Used by permission.

The people that I love, and the land that I love, is the land where my boy's dreams of his future may come true; a land in which I would lead him to realize the aspirations of his heart.

The land that I love is the land in which my soul, my spirit, my life, my ambition can have expression, where I can feel that, although I may be of the most humble origin, yet opportunity will open before me, so that I can rise, not merely to place and to power, but to the fullest expression of manhood, whatever manhood there may be in me.

So that I am not held down; so that I am not oppressed; so that no kaiser or czar can put his foot upon me and compel me to a course that is contrary to the right impulse of my nature; so with my neighbor as myself, that I may regard myself as rightfully entitled to develop every possibility and opportunity there is in me to serve my fellows, and serve myself and serve mankind.

We are trying the great problem in the United States of a wonderful experiment, an experiment that never has been tried before. We are gathering here from all the ends of the world the men and the women, Teutons, Celts, Slavs, all kinds of races, and we are seeing if they merge; if we can blend them; if we can make them a solid whole; if we can bring them into harmony. No other people on the face of the globe have ever had the temerity to attempt any such thing. Rome in her proudest day did not attempt it.

But we have lost faith in our own philosophy, in the triumph and in the effectual conquest by liberty of all the ills of man, if we have said, "Come here and we will make you one"—and if, after saying so, we have failed to accomplish it. If we do it, and I say we have done it

—if we do it, then we are to develop upon this continent the greatest race that the world has known, and the most powerful government that the centuries have known—a people that will stand out for ten thousand years. We are blending them together, making a new nation, establishing order, being just, dealing with mankind in terms of fair play, and we are making a new people.

We are teaching the world what can be done. Why? Because we do not believe that blood determines a man's destiny. Because we believe that by environment, by education, by the kind of people that he lives with, by the kind of sympathy that he meets, by the kind of ideas that he takes into his head, by the kind of things that he sees done, and by the kind of work he does, there can be developed a man that will master his blood, no matter what that blood may be; and that is the kind of internationalism that I believe in.

We who are new to this movement have been discovering strange things of late—things full of surprise. Five and one-half millions of our people in the United States cannot read or write this language. We have discovered that our neglect of the education of those people who have been brought here reduces the efficiency of man-power.

We are realizing that we have not been able to get inside of the other fellow's mind and look out through his eyes, and you can never deal with a human being until you are able to get inside of him and look out through his eyes. You must have that kind of sympathy which enables you to understand him, and then you will be able to help him; that is the task for which the government asks your aid.

Let us take a strong resolution that America

will be a land in which there will be a surer justice and finer sympathy, a greater love for all mankind, a fuller realization of the hopes of our fathers, and of the hopes that are within our breasts.

Let us make America more worthy of our dreams!

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Why is it that five and one-half millions of our people cannot read or write English? 2. Why does their ignorance reduce their efficiency? 3. What is the America of your dreams?

A LAST PLEA FOR AMERICANISM*

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

There must be no sagging back in the fight for Americanism merely because the war is over.

There are plenty of persons who have already made the assertion that they believe the American people have a short memory and that **they** intend to revive all the foreign associations which most directly interfere with the complete Americanization of our people. Our principle in this matter should be absolutely simple.

In the first place, we should insist that if the immigrant who comes here does in good faith become an American and assimilates himself to us, he shall be treated on an exact equality with everyone else, for it is an outrage to discriminate against any such man because of creed or birthplace or origin. But this is predicted upon the man's becoming in very fact an American and nothing but an American.

If he tries to keep segregated with men of his own origin and separated from the rest of America, then he

*An extract from the last message of Theodore Roosevelt, read at a meeting which he was too ill to attend.

isn't doing his part as an American. There can be no divided allegiance at all.

We have room for but one flag, the American flag, and this excludes the red flag, which symbolizes all wars against liberal government and civilization just as much as it excludes any foreign flag of a nation to which we are hostile. We have room for but one language here and that is the English language, for we intend to see that the crucible turns our people out as Americans, of American nationality, and not as dwellers in a polyglot boarding-house; and we have room for but one soul loyalty, and that is loyalty to the American people.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Why does the immigrant try to keep segregated with men of his own origin and separated from the rest of America?
2. How can he be persuaded not to wish to do this?
3. What is meant by "a polyglot boarding-house"?

PART THREE

GREAT NAMES IN AMERICAN HISTORY

WASHINGTON AND AMERICANISM*

JAMES SULLIVAN

Throughout the course of our history in this country teachers and statesmen have been inclined to ask, when confronted by some difficult question: "What did Washington say about this?" And it is seldom that they have not found some satisfactory answer to their query.

At the present time, we are confronted with many problems which are summed up in the words True Americanism, and here again we are inclined to turn to the writings and sayings of Washington to see if we cannot get from him some suggestive solutions for our problem. In this we are not disappointed, for in his day, as in our own, the people of the United States were confronted with the condition of having within the borders of their country members of various European races whom fate had thrown together on these shores, but who were, as Washington termed them, in his Farewell Address: "Citizens by birth, or by choice of a common country."

In speaking further to all of his people he said: "The country has a right to your affections." To those who were born here, as well as to those who came here of their own volition, he said: "The name of American, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of Patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations." "You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together; the Independence and Liberty you possess are the work of joint councils, and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings and successes."

*By permission of the author.

Again because of the great victory won over a monarchical power, and because of the great experiment which was launched by a people to determine whether a great nation could be conducted and properly governed without kings, without nobility, and without privilege, he held it before the world with the words: "Nations yet strangers to liberty will be led to love it and to seek it." He evidently, in his day, could not conceive that people would come to these shores and seek to destroy the institutions of the land which he had fought so hard to put in its position of independence.

Above all he had faith in the children as the true Americans. They tell an anecdote of him in the early days of the Revolution when he was passing through a New England village. The children all pressed close to him and called him "Father." Deeply touched he turned to one of his generals and said: "The English may beat us. It is the chance of war. But behold an army which they can never conquer."

Were he to return to this country on the anniversary of his birth, he would find these problems of assimilation of foreign people much the same as they were in his own day, and he would probably address us as he addressed his contemporaries when he wrote in 1776: "I have labored ever since I have been in the service to discourage all kinds of local attachments and distinction of country, denominating the whole by the greater name of American"; or again, when he took up the problem presented by emigrants from Europe coming to this country and settling in groups of large bodies: "The policy of emigration taking place in a body may be much questioned; for by so doing they retain the language, habits and principles (good or bad) which they bring with them. Never forget that we are Americans, the remembrance of which

will convince us that we ought not to be French or English."

If Washington were to come back to this country to-day, he would not stand amazed at the problems of Americanization, for he had them in his own time. The words quoted from his speeches and his writings show how earnestly he strove to meet and solve these questions which were raised by the presence of emigrants from foreign lands to the United States. His spirit in the words of one of his biographers still seems to speak and say: "I am still here, my countrymen, to do you what good I can."

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. How does the America of to-day compare with the America over which Washington was president? 2. From what countries in Europe did the immigrants come during Washington's time?

THOMAS JEFFERSON, DEMOCRAT*

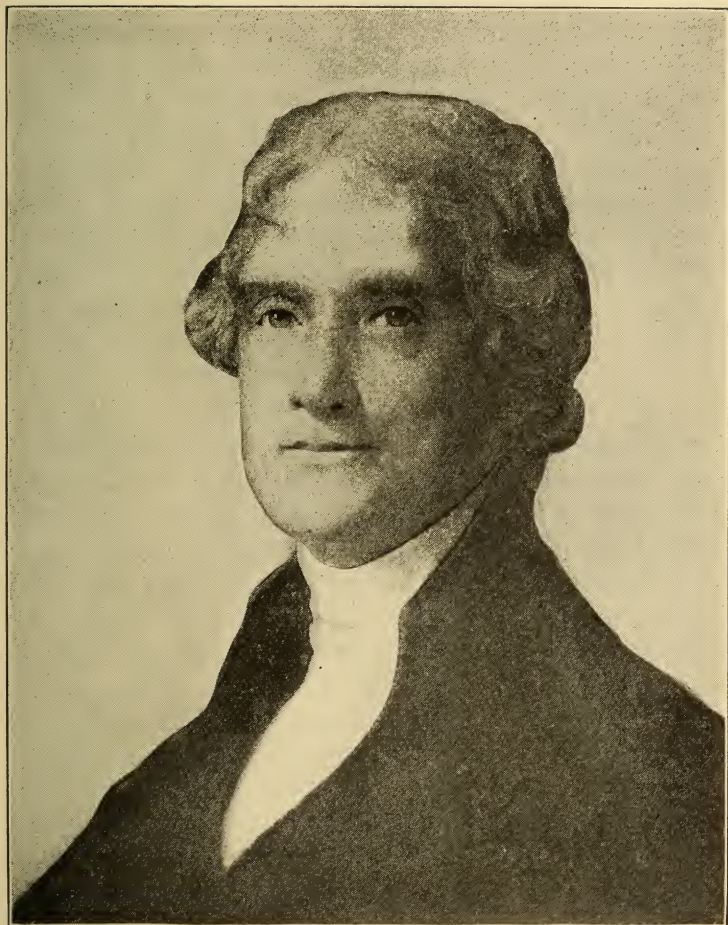
W. C. P. BRECKENRIDGE

Thomas Jefferson was in its loftiest sense a Democrat; he loved, he trusted, the people; he loved his race; he was indeed a man, and there was nothing human that was foreign to him. He defied man as man, and despised and feared all that could create classes or ranks. Man as man was free and capable of self-government, was the postulate of all his thinking. This was the starting-point of all his meditations. All men ought to be free, all men shall be free, all men will be free, was the conviction, the resolve, the hope of his life. His part was to

* Extract from a speech delivered at a banquet of the Iroquois Club, Chicago, April 13, 1883.

assist in making America free. This was two-fold—one part was to secure such a government as would protect and maintain freedom; the other was to establish a policy that would in the end embrace the continent. With such a government expansion was possible; neither the number nor the size of the states, nor the extent of population or territory, need cause alarm or change. If men are free—if governments are founded on the consent of the governed; if local governments are sovereign and federal governments can be limited by written compacts or constitutions, then the possibility and modification of mere forms become infinite. If the object of all governments is to protect these inalienable rights, and freemen can secure that protection by a union of states under one compact, then there is no permanent failure of free government possible except on the single hypothesis that man is incapable of self-government.

Jefferson rejected this hypothesis for himself, his race, and his country, and accepted with a loving, trusting faith in mankind the verity of his hopes. But there must be room for the development of such principles, and he held the continent to be ours. This new empire was to dictate law to the world, restore peace to the earth, give liberty to the oppressed. Here were ample homes to be founded for the poor, and plenty for the starving. The new era of nobler brotherhood, the sunlit dawn of a new day, had begun, and mankind was to find ampler room and fresher fields for higher development. To Jefferson these dreams were actualities, and with a minuteness of details and a practical statesmanship that were equal to the prophetic conception, he secured freedom by the abolishment of a state religion; he destroyed an aristocracy based on wealth by abolishing the law of



THOMAS JEFFERSON

Stuart

entails and primo-geniture; he made naturalization easy; he dedicated the Northwest to a common country and to become free states; he ordered George Rogers Clark to seize the bank of the Mississippi River; he aided the pioneers of Kentucky to form a new state on the basis of universal suffrage and equal representation based on numbers, and tried with almost superhuman powers to abolish slavery. By these wonderful achievements the new republic began its career with the freedom of religion, freedom from possible aristocracy, and the certainty of the addition of new states.

JOHN MARSHALL*

HENRY CABOT LODGE

What do we know of the man, John Marshall? The statesman we know, the great lawyer, the profound jurist, the original thinker, the unrivalled reasoner. All this is to be found in his decisions and in his public life, carved deep in the history of the times. But of the man himself we know little; in proportion to his greatness and the part he played we know almost nothing. He was a silent man, doing his great work in the world and saying nothing of himself. Marshall seems to have destroyed all his own papers; certainly none of consequence are known to exist now. Brief memoirs by some of his contemporaries, scattered letters, stray recollections and fugitive descriptions, are all that we have to help us to see and know the man. Yet his personality is so strong that from these fragments and from the study of his public life it stands forth to all who look with understanding and sympathy. A great intellect;

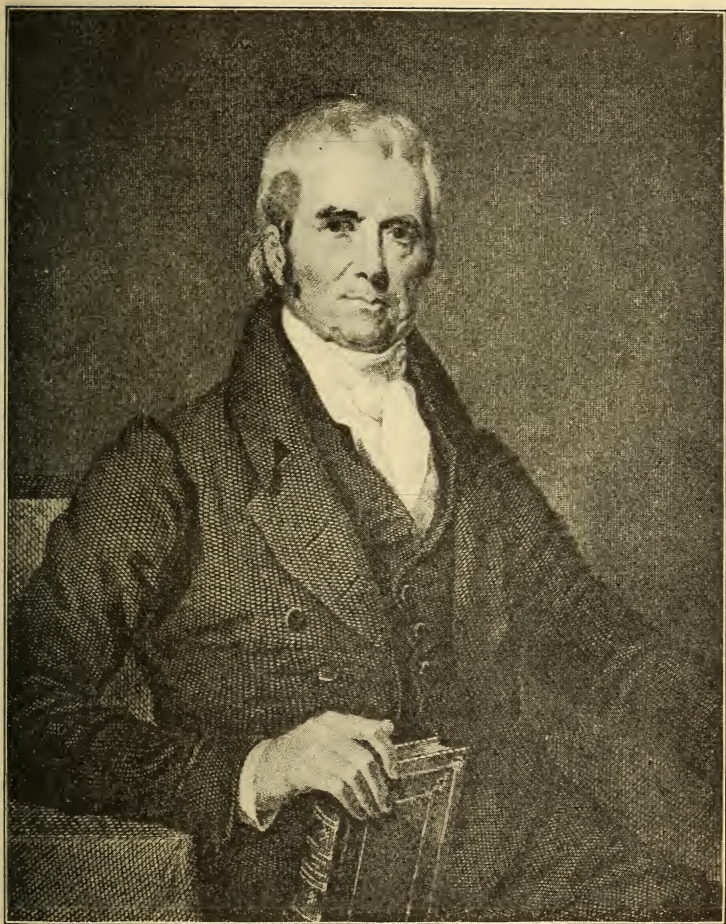
*From an address delivered before the Bar Associations of Illinois and Chicago, in Chicago, February 4, 1901. By permission of the author and Charles Scribner's Sons, Publishers.

a clear sight which was never dimmed, but which always recognized facts and scorned delusions; a powerful will; a courage, moral, mental, and physical, which nothing could daunt—all these things lie upon the surface. Deeper down we discern a directness of mind, a purity and strength of character, a kind heart, and abundant humor, and a simplicity and modesty which move our admiration as beyond the bounds of eulogy.

He was a very great man. The proofs of his greatness lie all about us, in our history, our law, our constitutional development, our public thought. But there is one witness to his greatness of soul which seems to me to outweigh all the others. He had been a soldier and lawyer and statesman; he had been an envoy to France, a member of Congress, Secretary of State, and Chief Justice. He did a great work and no one knew better than he how great it had been. Then when he came to die he wrote his own epitaph, and all he asked to have recorded was his name, the date of his birth, the date of his marriage, and the date of his death. What a noble pride and what a fine simplicity are there! In the presence of such a spirit, at the close of such a life, almost anything that can be said would seem tawdry and unworthy. His devoted friend, Judge Story, wished to have inscribed upon Marshall's tomb the words, 'Expounder of the Constitution.' Even this is something too much and also far too little. He is one of that small group of men who have founded states. He is a nation-maker, a state-builder. His monument is in the history of the United States, and his name is written upon the Constitution of his country.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Discuss the influence of Marshall in giving the United States Supreme Court the position it occupies in our government.



JOHN MARSHALL



ALEXANDER HAMILTON*

JOSEPH H. CHOATE

Revolutionary periods produce, if they do not create, men of genius whom the exigencies of the times demand. Whether they are bred out of the conditions which create the revolution, or always exist in every community, waiting for the supreme summons to call them forth, seems little to the purpose to inquire. The appointed hour strikes and the man appears.

In the subsequent making of the new nation, which the success of Washington and his companions-in-arms at last rendered possible, there appeared a considerable body of statesmen, trained in political discussion, tried by seven years of war, aroused by the four years of anarchy that succeeded, whose combined wisdom and foresight framed the Constitution of the United States, and set in motion the government which it called into being, in a way that to-day challenges the admiration and approval of all thinking men. Foremost among these in intellectual brilliancy, individual force, constructive capacity, and personal influence was Alexander Hamilton.

The tragical death of Hamilton has done much to embalm his name in the memory of his countrymen. Great as he was, he was not great enough to rise above the barbarous and brutal theory and practice of that age, which sanctioned and compelled a resort to the duel as the honorable mode of settling personal disputes, but to which the cruel sacrifice of his precious life put an end, at least in the northern states. Still in the very

*Extract from his inaugural address as President of the Associated Societies of the University of Edinburgh, March 19, 1904. By permission of Miss Mabel Choate.

prime of his own life, at the age of forty-seven, in the midst of a great career of usefulness, crowned with all the laurels which his grateful country could bestow, he was called to meet his own untimely fate. He accepted the challenge, forced upon him by his most dangerous and unscrupulous political adversary, with whom he had had many bitter contests, and who was at last determined to be rid of him. One glorious July morning, on the heights of Weehawken, overlooking the Hudson they met for the last and mortal combat. Hamilton fell fatally wounded at the first shot of his adversary, having fired his own pistol in the air, and so unhappily and unworthily ended the life of one of the noblest, manliest, and most useful men of whom we have any record—the trusted friend and companion of Washington—and one of the best gifts of God to the nation which they labored together to found.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

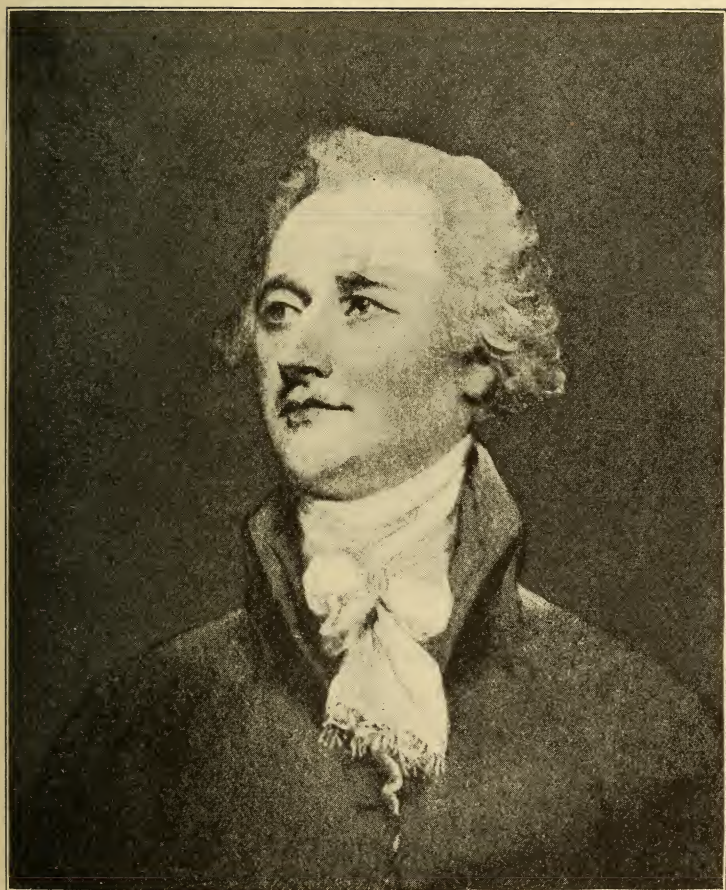
1. What ideas advocated by Hamilton were incorporated in our Constitution? Consult your United States histories.

SAMUEL ADAMS AND THE NEW ENGLAND TOWN MEETING*

GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS

The true glory of Concord, as of all New England, was the town-meeting, the nursery of American independence. No other practicable human institution has been devised or conceived to secure the just ends of

*From an oration delivered at the Centennial Celebration of Concord Fight, April 19, 1875. Copyrighted, 1894, by Harper and Brothers.



ALEXANDER HAMILTON

Stuart

local government so felicitous as the town-meeting. It brought together the rich and the poor, the good and the bad, and gave character, eloquence, and natural leadership free play. It enabled superior experience and sagacity to govern; and virtue and intelligence alone are rulers by divine right.

But one cannot speak of the New England town-meeting without recalling its great genius, the New-Englander in whom the Revolution seemed to be most fully embodied. He was not eloquent like Otis, nor scholarly like Quincy, nor all-fascinating like Warren; yet, bound heart to heart with these great men, he gathered all their separate gifts, and, adding to them his own, fused the whole in the glow of that untiring energy, that unerring perception, that sublime will, which moved before the chosen people of the colonies a pillar of cloud by day, of fire by night. People of Massachusetts, your proud and grateful hearts outstrip my lips in pronouncing the name of Samuel Adams.

During the ten years from the passage of the Stamp Act to the day of Lexington and Concord, this poor man, in an obscure provincial town beyond the sea, was engaged with the British ministry in one of the mightiest contests that history records. Not a word in Parliament that he did not hear, not an act in the cabinet that he did not see. With brain and heart and conscience all alive, he opposed every hostile order in council with a British precedent, and arrayed against the government of Great Britain the battery of principles impregnable with the accumulated strength of centuries of British conviction. The cold Grenville, the brilliant Townsend, the obsequious North, the reckless Hillsborough, the crafty Dartmouth, all the ermined and coroneted chiefs of the proudest aristocracy in the world,

derided, declaimed, denounced, levied unjust taxes, and sent troops to collect them, cheered loudly by a servile Parliament, the parasite of a headstrong king; and the plain Boston Puritan laid his finger on the vital point of the tremendous controversy, and held to it inexorably king, lords, commons, the people of England, and the people of America. Intrenched in his own honesty, the king's gold could not buy him; enshrined in the love of his fellow citizens, the king's writ could not take him; and when, on the morning of Lexington, the king's troops marched to seize him, his sublime faith saw beyond the clouds of the moment the rising sun of the America that we behold; and, careless of himself, mindful only of his country, he exultingly exclaimed, "Oh, what a glorious morning!"

Yet this man held no office but that of Clerk of the Assembly, to which he was yearly elected, and that of constant moderator of the town-meeting. That was his mighty weapon. The town-meeting was the alarm bell with which he aroused the continent; it was the rapier with which he fenced with the ministry; it was the clay-more with which he smote their counsels; it was the harp of a thousand strings that he swept into a burst of passionate defiance, or an electric call to arms, or a proud pæan of exulting triumph, defiance, challenge, and exultation—all lifting the continent to independence. His indomitable will and command of the popular confidence played Boston against London, the provincial town-meeting against the royal Parliament, Faneuil Hall against St. Stephen's. And as long as the American town-meeting is known, its great genius will be revered who with the town-meeting overthrew an empire. So long as Faneuil Hall stands, Samuel Adams will not want his most fitting monument; and, when

Faneuil Hall falls, its name with his will be found written as with a sunbeam upon every faithful American heart.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Is there at the present time, either in this country or in other countries, a civic organization like that of the old New England town-meeting? 2. Can you explain all the historical allusions in this selection? For example, the quotation from Adams at the close of the third paragraph. 3. Who were the men that are mentioned as contemporaries of Adams? 4. Find in this selection examples of the balanced structure.

THE LEGACY OF WILLIAM PENN*

WOODROW WILSON

To think of William Penn is to think of him as a sort of spiritual knight who went out upon his adventures to carry the torch that had been put into his hands, so that other men might have the path illuminated for them which led to justice, liberty, and peace; and it cannot be admitted that a man establishes his right to call himself a college or high school graduate by exhibiting his diploma. The only way he can prove it is by showing that his eyes are lifted to some horizon which other men less instructed than he have not been privileged to see. Unless he carry freight of the spirit, he has not been bred where spirits are bred. William Penn, presenting the sweet enterprise of the quiet and powerful sect that called themselves Friends, proved his right to the title by being the friend of mankind; and he crossed the ocean not merely to establish estates in America, but to set up a free commonwealth in America and to

*Adapted from an address to the students of Swarthmore College, October 25, 1913.

show that he was of the lineage of those who had been bred in the best traditions of the human spirit. We should not be interested in celebrating the memory of William Penn if his conquest had been merely a material one. Sometimes we have been laughed at by foreigners in particular for boasting about the size of the American continent, the size of our own domain as a nation, and they have naturally suggested that we did not make it. But there is much merit in the claim that every race and every man is as big as the thing he takes possession of, and that the size of America is in some sense a standard of the size and capacity of the American people. But the extent of the American conquest is not what gives America distinction in the annals of the world. It is the professed purpose of the Quaker, which was to see to it that every foot of the land should be the home of the free, self-governed people, who should have no government whatever which did not rest upon the consent of the governed. And the spirit of Penn will not be stayed. You cannot set limits to such adventures. After their own days are gone, their spirits stalk the world, carrying inspiration everywhere they go, and reminding men of the fine lineage of those who have sought justice and the right.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Why did President Wilson speak about Penn at Swarthmore College?
2. Who are the Quakers?

CHARACTER OF WEBSTER

THOMAS F. BAYARD

In a humble farm-house in the town of Salisbury, New Hampshire, Daniel Webster was born. It was an American



WILLIAM PENN

homestead of one hundred and sixty acres, that "quarter section," so well known to the land laws of the United States. There this great typical American first saw the light. There first he learned, from a pious mother's lips, the letters of the language that in later days, by speech and writing, he was destined to adorn. From that mother's teachings he imbibed in tender infancy those vital truths of religion and morality which formed the basis of his character, and to-day give strength and permanence to the immortal part that survives.

He was born in New Hampshire, and he died in Massachusetts, but he lived and died with a love for his whole country that never knew state lines, nor paused upon the imaginary boundaries of sections. Nature had gifted him with great powers of mind, coupled with warm and generous feelings. His intellect enabled him to comprehend the mighty and manifold interests of humanity, contained within the Federal Union, and his heart was large enough to embrace them all. Before or since, New England has had no such champion or representative, but he gained no victory for her at the cost of other portions of his country; and in all the loving praise and manly defence of his own home, in no speech or letter, wherever uttered or written, not a thought or expression, belittling or derogatory to reputation, or wounding to the self-love of any other portion of his fellow countrymen, have I found.

Webster was a statesman living under a written constitution of government, and his creed may neither be stated in a breath, nor condensed into a phrase. It would be as delusive as it is unjust to try such a man by phrases torn from their context, and by chance expressions, without interpreting them by the general meaning which surrounds them. But as to some meanings

there is no doubt; and that Webster was the soldier of the constitution, because it created and continued the government of "a more perfect Union," is as fixed as the everlasting hills of his native state. With a vision that was prophetic, he witnessed the growing alienation of his countrymen, and the dangers to the Union which it threatened. These apprehensions clouded his anticipations, and the recorded and reiterated warnings and deprecations against sectional animosities, that burst from his very heart, are almost countless. They form part of his history, and read now and hereafter they will ever attest the sagacity of his mental vision, and the depth and sincerity of his patriotism.

The veil which hides from our eyes the future, no doubt conceals, in mercy, many an assault upon the peace, law, and liberty of the land we love; and in the misty foreground of the future, I fear there are dimly to be discerned forms and shapes of evil. But we must stand as the father of Webster stood, "a minute-man," ready for their defence, fortified, enlarged, and refreshed by the memories and the counsel of our great countryman—Daniel Webster.

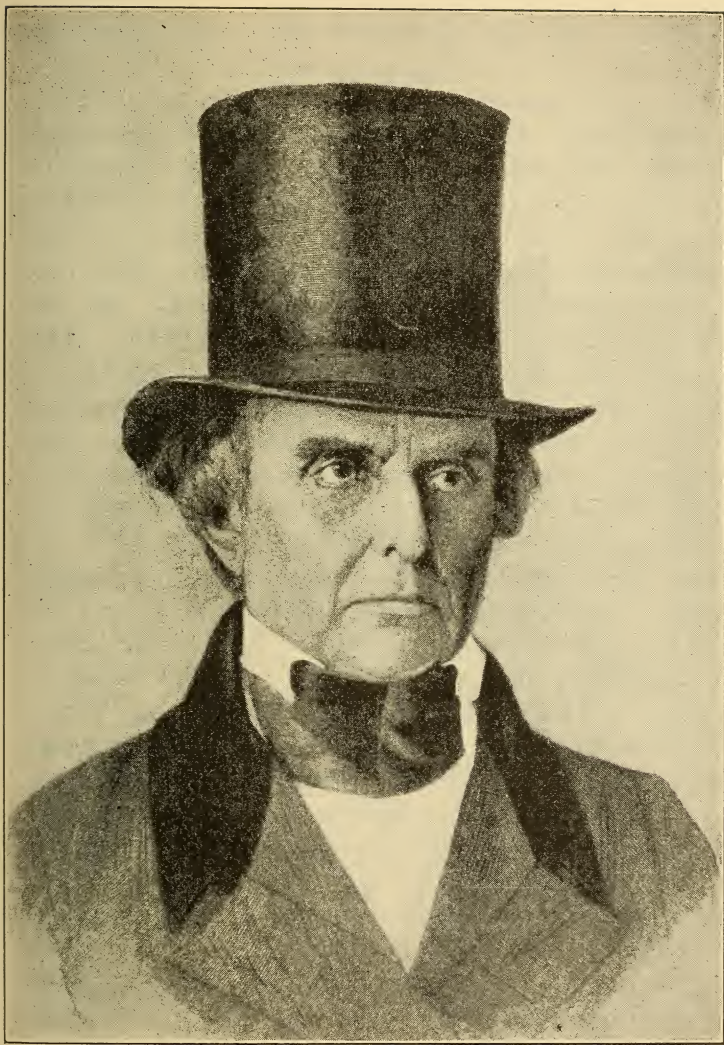
QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Give a few of the outstanding incidents of Webster's life.

CHARLES SUMNER

CARL SCHURZ

Honor to the people of Massachusetts, who for twenty-three years kept in the Senate, and would have kept him there longer had he lived, a man who never, even to them, conceded a single iota of his convictions in order



DANIEL WEBSTER

to remain there. And what a life was his! A life so wholly devoted to what was good and noble! There he stood in the midst of the grasping materialism of his times, around him the eager chase for the almighty dollar, no thought of opportunity ever entering the smallest corner of his mind and disturbing his high endeavors; with a virtue which the possession of power could not even tempt, much less debauch, from whose presence the very thought of corruption instinctively shrunk back; a life so unspotted, an integrity so intact, a character so high, that the most daring eagerness of calumny, the most wanton audacity of insinuation, standing on tiptoe, could not touch the soles of his shoes.

He is at rest now, the brave old champion, whose face and bearing were so austere, but whose heart was so full of tenderness; who began his career with a pathetic appeal for universal peace and charity, and whose whole life was an arduous, incessant, never-resting struggle, which left him all covered with scars. We can but remember his lofty ideals of liberty and equality and justice and reconciliation and purity, and the earnestness and courage and touching fidelity with which he fought for them—so genuine in his sincerity, so single-minded in his zeal, so heroic in his devotion.

People of Massachusetts, he was the son of your soil in which he now sleeps, but he is not all your own; he belongs to all of us in the North and in the South, to the blacks he helped to make free, and to the whites he strove to make brothers again. On the grave of him whom so many thought to be their enemy and found to be their friend, let the hands be clasped which so bitterly warred against each other. Upon that grave let the youth of America be taught, by the story of his life, that not only genius, power, and success; but, more than

these, patriotic devotion and virtue, make the greatness of the citizen. If this lesson be understood, more than Charles Sumner's living word could have done for the glory of America, will be done, by his great example; and it may truly be said that although his body lies in the earth, yet in the assured rights of all, in the brotherhood of a reunited people, and in a purified Republic, he still lives and will live forever.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Name other great Americans who labored long and earnestly to have slavery abolished throughout the United States.

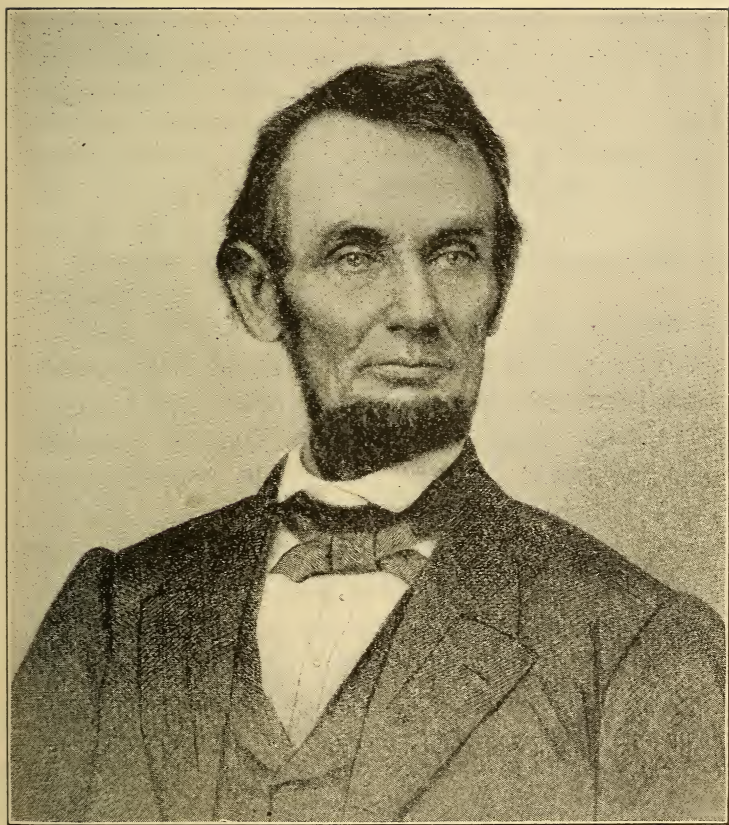
ABRAHAM LINCOLN*

RALPH WALDO EMERSON

President Lincoln stood before us as a man of the people. He was thoroughly American, had never crossed the sea, had never been spoiled by English insularity or French dissipation; a quite native, aboriginal man, as an acorn from the oak; no aping of foreigners, no frivolous accomplishments, Kentuckian born, working on a farm, a flatboatman, a captain in the Black Hawk War, a country lawyer, a representative in the rural legislature of Illinois—on such modest foundations the broad structure of his fame was laid. How slowly, and yet by happily prepared steps, he came to his place.

A plain man of the people, he offered no shining qualities at the first encounter; he did not offend by superiority. He had a face and manner which disarmed suspicion, which inspired confidence, which confirmed goodwill. Then, he had what farmers call a long head; was

*From a speech delivered at Concord, Mass.



ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Brady

excellent in working out the sum for himself; in arguing his case and convincing you fairly and firmly. He was a great worker; had prodigious faculty of performance; worked easily. A good worker is so rare; everybody has some disabling quality. In a host of young men that start together and promise so many brilliant leaders for the next age, each fails on trial; one by bad health, one by conceit, or by love of pleasure, or lethargy, or an ugly temper—each has some disqualifying fault that throws him out of the career. But this man was sound to the core, cheerful, persistent, all right for labor, and liked nothing so well.

Then, he had a vast good-nature, which made him tolerant and accessible to all; fair-minded, leaning to the claim of the petitioner; affable, and not sensible to the affliction which the innumerable visits paid to him when President would have brought to any one else.

Then, what an occasion was the whirlwind of the war. Here was place for no holiday magistrate, no fair-weather sailor; the new pilot was hurried to the helm in a tornado. In four years—four years of battle days—his endurance, his fertility of resources, his magnanimity, were sorely tried and never found wanting. There by his courage, his justice, his even temper, his fertile counsel, his humanity, he stood a heroic figure in the centre of a heroic epoch. He is the true history of the American people of his time. Step by step he walked before them; slow with their slowness, quickening his march by theirs, the true representative of this continent; an entirely public man; father of his country, the pulse of twenty millions throbbing in his heart, the thought of their minds articulated by his tongue.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What was Lincoln's attitude toward the South? Name instances showing his sympathy, his innate kindness of heart.

LINCOLN, THE MAN OF DESTINY*

HENRY WATTERSON

From Cæsar to Bismarck and Gladstone the world has had its statesmen and its soldiers—men who rose to eminence and power step by step, through a series of geometric progression, as it were, each advancement following in regular order one after the other, the whole obedient to well-established and well-understood laws of cause and effect. They were not what we call “men of destiny.” They were “men of the time.” They were men whose careers had a beginning, a middle, and an end, rounding off lives with histories, full it may be of interesting and exciting events, but comprehensive and comprehensible, simple, clear, complete.

The inspired ones are fewer. Whence their emanation, where and how they got their power, by what rule they lived, moved, and had their being, we know not. There is no explication of their lives. They rose from shadow and they went in mist. We see them, feel them, but we know them not. They came, God's word upon their lips; they did their office, God's mantle about them; and they vanished, God's memory, half mortal and half myth. From first to last they were the creations of some special Providence, baffling the wit of man to fathom, defeating the machinations of the world, the flesh and the devil, until their work was done, then pass-

*From the oration on Lincoln, first delivered before the Lincoln Union at the Auditorium, Chicago, February 12, 1895. By courtesy of the author.

ing from the scene as mysteriously as they had come upon it.

Tried by this standard, where shall we find an example so impressive as Abraham Lincoln? Born as lowly as the Son of God, in a hovel; reared in penury, squalor, with no gleam of light or fair surrounding; without graces, actual or acquired; without name or fame or official training; it was reserved for this strange being, late in life, to be snatched from obscurity, raised to supreme command at a supreme moment, and intrusted with the destiny of a nation.

The great leaders of his party, the most experienced and accomplished public men of the day, were made to stand aside, were sent to the rear, whilst this fantastic figure was led by unseen hands to the front and given the reins of power. It is immaterial whether we were for him or against him; wholly immaterial. That during four years, carrying with them such a weight of responsibility as the world never witnessed before, he filled the vast space allotted him in the eyes and actions of mankind, is to say that he was inspired of God, for nowhere else could he have acquired the wisdom and the virtue.

Where did Shakespeare get his genius? Where did Mozart get his music? Whose hand smote the lyre of the Scottish plowman, and stayed the life of the German priest? God, and God alone; and as surely as these were raised up by God, inspired by God, was Abraham Lincoln; and a thousand years hence, no drama, no tragedy, no epic poem, will be filled with greater wonder, or be followed by mankind with deeper feeling than that which tells the story of his life and death.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Who was Bismarck?
2. Gladstone?
3. For what

was Burns, the Scottish plowman, famous? 4. When and where did Luther the priest live?

THE SPIRIT OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

WOODROW WILSON

By popular subscription, the log-cabin birthplace of Lincoln, on a farm near Hodgenville, Kentucky, has been enclosed in an imposing granite memorial building as a gift to the nation. President Wilson, called upon to accept the memorial gave this impressive interpretation of it:

No more significant memorial could have been presented to the Nation than this which encloses the birthplace of Abraham Lincoln. It expresses so much of what is singular and noteworthy in the history of the country; it suggests so many of the things that we prize most highly in our life and in our system of government.

How eloquent this little house within this shrine is of the vigor of democracy! There is nowhere in the land any home so remote, humble, that it may not contain the power of mind and heart and conscience to which nations yield and history submits its processes.

I have come here to-day not to utter a eulogy on Lincoln; he stands in need of none, but to endeavor to interpret the meaning of this gift to the Nation of the place of his birth and origin.

Is not this an altar upon which we may forever keep alive the vestal fire of democracy as upon a shrine at which some of the deepest and most sacred hopes of mankind may from age to age be rekindled? For these hopes must certainly be rekindled, and only those who live can rekindle them.

The only stuff that can retain the life-giving heat is

the stuff of living hearts. And the hopes of mankind cannot be kept alive by words merely, by constitutions and doctrines of right and codes of liberty. The object of democracy is to transmute these into the life and action of society, the self-denial and self-sacrifice of heroic men and women willing to make their lives an embodiment of right and service and enlightened purpose.

The commands of democracy are as imperative as its privileges and opportunities are wide and generous. Its compulsion is upon us. It will be great, and lift a great light for the guidance of the nations only if we are great and carry that light high for the guidance of our own feet.

We are not worthy to stand here unless we ourselves be in deed and in truth real democrats and servants of mankind, ready to give our very lives for the freedom and justice and spiritual exaltation of the great nation which shelters and nurtures us.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What do you understand to be the meaning of the term, "democracy"?
2. Why is Lincoln called a democrat?

LOOKING THROUGH LINCOLN'S EYES*

FRANKLIN K. LANE

I never pass through Chicago without visiting the statute of Lincoln by St. Gaudens and standing before it for a moment uncovered. It is to me all that America is, physically and spiritually. I look at those long arms and long legs, large hands and feet, and I think that they represent the physical strength of this new country, its power and its youthful awkwardness.

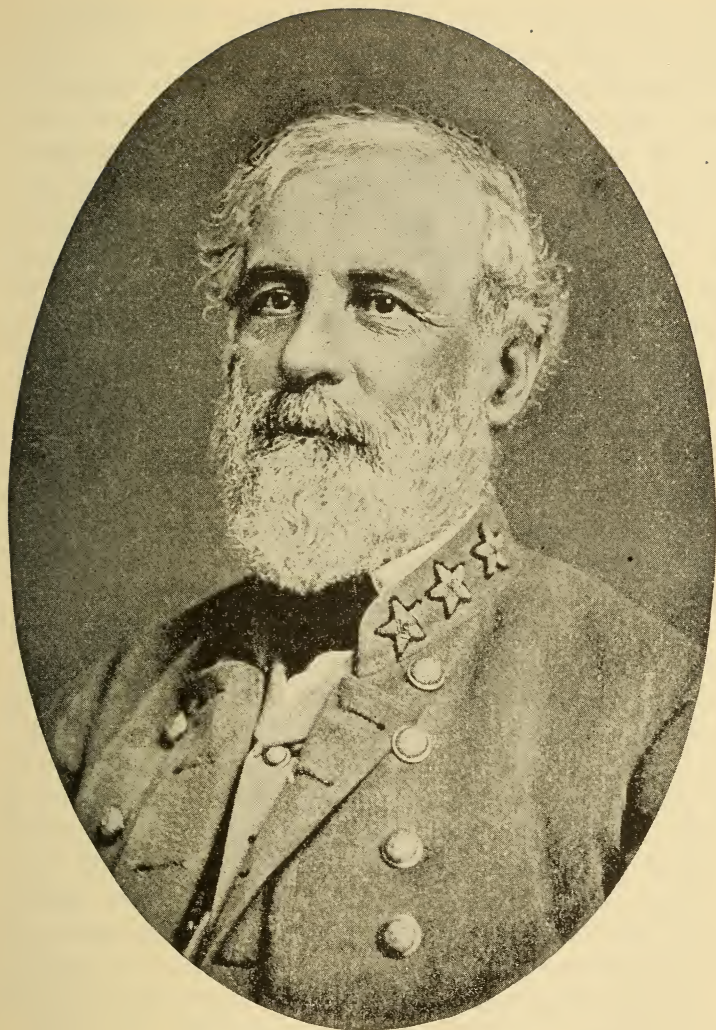
*In *Current Opinion* of April, 1920. Used by permission.

Then I look up at the head and see qualities which have made the American—the strong chin, the noble brow, those sober and steadfast eyes. They were the eyes of one who saw with sympathy and interpreted with common sense. They were the eyes of earnest idealism limited and checked by the possible and the practicable. They were the eyes of a truly humble spirit, whose ambition was not a love for power but a desire to be supremely useful. They were eyes of compassion and mercy and a deep understanding. They saw far more than they looked at. They believed in far more than they saw. They loved men not for what they were but for what they might become. They were patient eyes, eyes that could wait and wait and live on in the faith that right would win. They were eyes which challenged the nobler things in men and brought out the hidden largeness. They were humorous eyes that saw things in their true proportions and in their real relationships. They looked through cant and pretense and the great and little vanities of great and little men. They were the eyes of an unflinching courage and an unfaltering faith rising out of a sincere dependence upon the Master of the Universe. To believe in Lincoln is to learn to look through Lincoln's eyes.

ROBERT E. LEE

JOHN W. DANIEL

At the bottom of true heroism is unselfishness. Its crowning expression is sacrifice. The world is suspicious of vaunted heroes; but when the true hero has come, how the hearts of men leap forth to greet him—how worshipfully we welcome God's noblest work—the strong, honest, fearless, upright man.



ROBERT E. LEE

In Robert E. Lee was such a hero vouchsafed to us and to mankind, and whether we behold him declining command of the Federal Army to fight the battles and to share the miseries of his own people; proclaiming on the heights in front of Gettysburg that the fault of the disaster was his own; leading charges in the crisis of combat; walking under the yoke of conquest without a murmur of complaint; or refusing fortunes to go to Washington and Lee University to train the youth of his country in the path of duty—he is ever the same meek, grand, self-sacrificing spirit. As President of Washington College he exhibited qualities not less worthy and heroic than those displayed on the broad and open theater of conflict, when the eyes of nations watched his every action. In the calm repose of civic and domestic duties and in the trying routine of incessant tasks, he lived a life as high as when, day by day, he marshaled his thin and wasting lines. In the quiet walks of academic life far removed from “war or battle’s sound,” came into view the towering grandeur, the massive splendor, and the loving kindness of the character of General Lee, and the very sorrows that overhung his life seemed luminous with celestial hues. There he revealed in manifold gracious hospitalities, tender charities, and patient worthy counsels how deep and pure and inexhaustible were the fountains of his virtues. And loving hearts delight to recall, as loving lips will ever delight to tell, the thousand little things he did which sent forth lines of light to irradiate the gloom of the conquered land and to lift up the hopes and cheer the works of his people.

Come we then to-day in loyal love to sanctify our memories, to purify our hopes, to make strong all good intent by communion with the spirit of him who, being dead, yet speaketh. Let us crown his tomb with the

oak, the emblem of his strength, and with the laurel, the emblem of his glory. And as we seem to gaze once more on him we loved and hailed as the chief, the tranquil face is clothed with heaven's light and the mute lips seem eloquent with the message that in life he spoke:

"There is a true glory and a true honor; the glory of duty done, the honor of the integrity of principle."

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

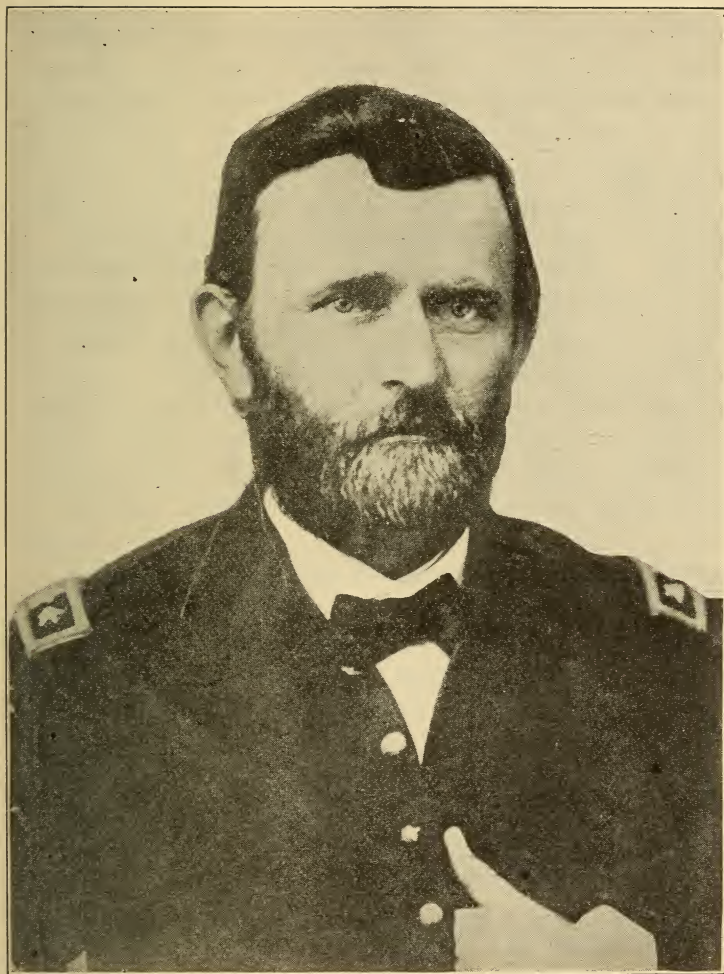
1. Was Lee justified in espousing the cause of his native State?
2. All things considered, which was the greater man, Lee or Grant?

GENERAL GRANT

WILLIAM MCKINLEY

A great life never dies. Great deeds are imperishable; great names immortal. General Grant's services and character will continue undiminished in influence and advance in the estimation of mankind so long as liberty remains the cornerstone of free government and integrity of life the guaranty of good citizenship.

Faithful and fearless as a volunteer soldier, intrepid and invincible as commander-in-chief of the armies of the union, calm and confident as president of a reunited and strengthened nation which his genius had been instrumental in achieving, he has our homage and that of the world; but brilliant as was his public character, we love him all the more for his home life and homely virtues. His individuality, his bearing and speech, his simple ways, had a flavor of rare and unique distinction, and his Americanism was so true and uncompromising that his name will stand for all time as the embodiment of liberty, loyalty, and national unity.



ULYSSES S. GRANT

Victorious in the work which under Divine Providence he was called upon to do; clothed with almost limitless power, he was yet one of the people—plain, patient, patriotic, and just. Success did not disturb the even balance of his mind, while fame was powerless to swerve him from the path of duty. Great as he was in war, he loved peace, and told the world that honorable arbitration of differences was the best hope of civilization.

With Washington and Lincoln, Grant has an exalted place in history and the affections of the people. To-day his memory is held in equal esteem by those whom he led to victory and by those who accepted his generous terms of peace. The veteran leaders of the Blue and the Gray here meet not only to honor the name of the departed Grant, but to testify to the living reality of a fraternal national spirit which has triumphed over the differences of the past and transcends the limitations of sectional lines.

It is right, then, that General Grant should have a memorial commensurate with his greatness, and that his last resting place should be the city of his choice, to which he was so attached in life and of whose ties he was not forgetful even in death. Fitting, too, is it that the great soldier should sleep beside the noble river on whose banks he first learned the art of war and of which he became master and leader without a rival.

New York holds in its keeping the precious dust of the silent soldier; but his achievements—what he and his brave comrades wrought for mankind—are in the keeping of all Americans, who will guard the sacred heritage forevermore.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. How did General Grant by his act of magnanimity do most to preserve the union?

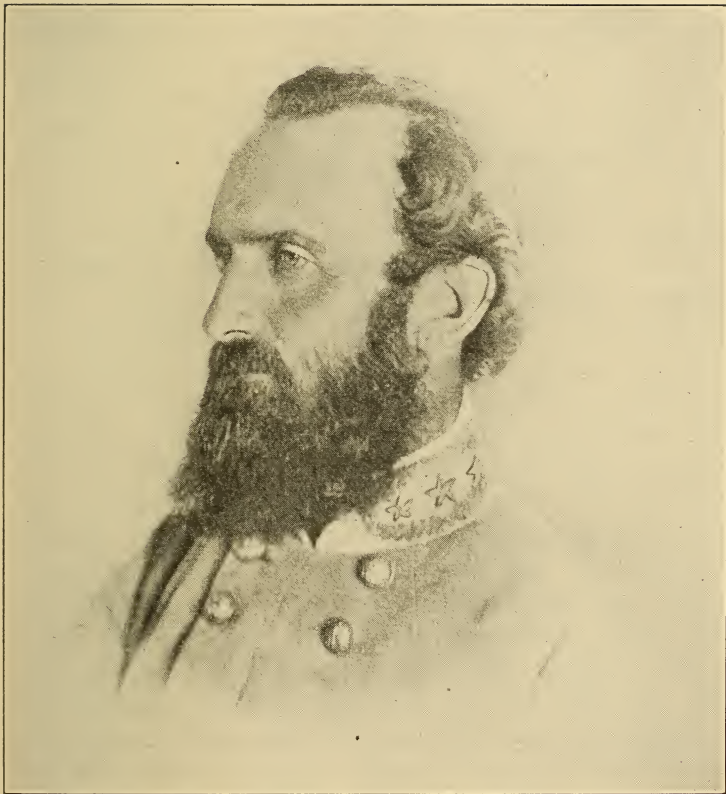
"STONEWALL" JACKSON

MOSES D. HOGE

The day after the first battle of Manassas, and before the history of that victory had reached Lexington in authentic form, a crowd had gathered around the post-office awaiting with interest the opening of the mail. In its distribution the first letter was handed to the Rev. Dr. White. Recognizing at a glance the well-known superscription, the doctor exclaimed to those around him, "Now we shall know all the facts."

The letter was from General Jackson; but instead of a war bulletin, it was a simple note, inclosing a check for a colored Sunday-school, with an apology for his delay in not sending it before. Not a word about the conflict which had electrified a nation! Not an allusion to the splendid part he had taken in it; not a reference to himself, beyond the fact that it had been to him a fatiguing day's service! And yet that was the day ever memorable in his history, when he received the name of "Stonewall" Jackson.

When his brigade of twenty-six hundred men had for hours withstood the iron tempest which broke upon it; when the Confederate right had been overwhelmed in the rush of resistless numbers, General Bee rode up to Jackson, and, with despairing bitterness, exclaimed, "General, they are beating us back!" "Then," said Jackson, calm and curt, "we will give them the bayonet." Bee seemed to catch the inspiration of his determined will; and galloping back to the broken fragments of his overtaxed command, exclaimed, "There is Jackson, standing like a stone wall. Rally behind him, Virginians!" From that time Jackson's was known as the Stonewall Brigade—a name henceforth immortal, for the christening was



STONEWALL JACKSON

baptized in the blood of its author; and that wall of brave hearts was, on every battlefield, a steadfast bulwark of their country.

In the state where all that is mortal of this great hero sleeps, there is a natural bridge of rock, whose massive arch, fashioned in grandeur by the hand of God, springs lightly toward the sky, spanning a chasm into whose awful depths the beholder looks down bewildered and awe-struck. But its grandeur is not diminished because tender vines clamber over its gigantic piers and sweet-scented flowers nestle in its crevices. Nor is the granite strength of Jackson's character weakened because in every throb of his heart there was a pulsation ineffably and exquisitely tender. The hum of bees, the fragrance of clover fields, the tender streaks of dawn, the dewy brightness of early spring, the mellow glories of matured autumn, all by turns charmed and tranquillized him. The eye that flashed amid the smoke of battle grew soft in contemplating the beauty of a flower. The ear that thrilled with the thunder of the cannonade drank in with innocent delight the song of birds and the prattle of children's voices. The voice whose sharp and ringing tones had so often uttered the command, "Give them the bayonet," called even from foreign tongues terms of endearment for those he loved; and the man who filled two hemispheres with his fame was never so happy as when he was telling the colored children of his Sabbath school the story of the Cross.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Can you cite examples of men prominent in public life to-day who either resemble or contrast sharply with the character of Andrew Jackson? 2. Point out the effectiveness of the antithesis contained in the last paragraph.

THE TYPICAL AMERICAN*

HENRY W. GRADY

We hear a great deal said, particularly each year when the New England societies meet, about the virtues of the Puritans; but we should not forget the fact that the Cavalier as well as the Puritan was on the continent in its early days, and that he was "up and able to be about."

Let me remind you that the Virginia Cavalier first challenged France on this Continent; that Cavalier John Smith gave New England its very name, and was so pleased with the job that he has been handing his own name around ever since; and that while Miles Standish was cutting off men's ears for courting a girl without her parent's consent, and forbade men to kiss their wives on Sunday, the Cavalier was courting everything in sight.

But having said this much for the Cavalier, we let him work out his own salvation, as he has always done with engaging gallantry, and we hold no controversy as to his merits. Why should we? Neither Puritan or Cavalier long survived as such. The virtues and traditions of both happily still live for the inspiration of their sons and the saving of the old fashion. But both Puritan and Cavalier were lost in the storm of the first revolution; and the American citizen, supplanting both and stronger than either, took possession of the Republic, bought by their common blood and fashioned to wisdom, and charged himself with teaching men govern-

*Taken from the speech that first brought him national fame as an orator. Delivered at a dinner of the New England Society. New York City, December 21, 1886.

From *The Orations and Speeches of Henry W. Grady*, by E. D. Shurter. Used by permission.

ment and establishing the voice of the people as the voice of God.

It has been said that the typical American has yet to come. Let me tell you that he has already come. Great types, like valuable plants, are slow to flower and fruit. But from the union of these colonists, Puritans and Cavaliers, from the straightening of their purposes and the crossing of their blood, slow perfecting through a century, came he who stands as the first typical American, the first who comprehended within himself all the strength and gentleness, all the majesty and grandeur of this republic—Abraham Lincoln. He was the sum of Puritan and Cavalier, for in his ardent nature we fused the virtues of both, and in the depth of his great soul the faults of both were lost. He was greater than Puritan, greater than Cavalier, in that he was American; and that in his homely form were first gathered the vast and thrilling forces of his ideal government; charging it with such tremendous meaning and so elevating it above human sufferings, that martyrdom though infamously aimed, came as a fitting crown to a life consecrated from the cradle to human liberty.

Let us, each cherishing the traditions and honoring his fathers, build with reverent hands to the type of this simple but sublime life in which all types are honored; and in our common glory as Americans there will be plenty and to spare for Puritan and Cavalier.

THE POTENCY OF ROOSEVELT'S SPIRIT

E. D. SHURTER*

At midnight on the fifth day of January, 1919, Theodore Roosevelt wrote a memorandum for the Chairman

*Adapted

of the Republican National Committee. Four hours later, quietly in his sleep, the man of many battles and much tumult slipped out of the company of living men; but with new potency his spirit cried to the hearts of his countrymen.

If Lincoln was the "First American," Roosevelt was the first American of the past generation, and he wields to-day an influence far greater than that of any other character in America's history. What was the secret of his power?

"He was found faithful over a few things and he was made ruler over many; he cut his own trail clean and straight and millions followed him toward the light. He was frail; he made himself a tower of strength. He was timid; he made himself a lion of courage. He was a dreamer; he became one of the great doers of all time. Men put their trust in him; found a champion in him; kings stood in awe of him, but children made him their playmate. He broke a nation's slumber with his cry, and it rose up. He touched the eyes of blind men with a flame that gave them vision. Souls became swords through him; swords became servants of God. He was loyal to his country and he exacted loyalty; he loved many lands, but he loved his own best. He was terrible in battle, but tender to the weak; joyous and tireless, being free from self-pity; clean with a cleanness that cleansed the air like a gale. His courtesy knew no wealth, no class; his friendship, no creed or color or race. His courage stood every onslaught of savage beast and ruthless man, of loneliness, of victory, of defeat. His mind was eager, his heart was true, his body and spirit, defiant of obstacles, ready to meet what might come. He fought injustice and tyranny; bore sorrow gallantly; loved all nature, bleak spaces and hardy com-

panions, hazardous adventure and the zest of battle. Wherever he went he carried his own pack; and in the uttermost parts of the earth he kept his conscience for his guide."

Above all, he exemplified by word and deed the spirit of an Americanism that will guide aright all true Americans of this generation, and another and another.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What are some of the great things that Theodore Roosevelt did? 2. Roosevelt was a graduate of Harvard College. What other presidents were college men?

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

AS A VITAL FORCE*

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

His place was in the seats of the mighty. No man of his time so breathed in the breath of life and so exhaled the spirit of power. His was a full heart and a rich existence, for there were as many Theodore Roosevelts as years of his life. It was in his bountiful nature to find himself at one with all sorts and conditions of men. He was at home in the palace of kings—in those old days when kings were fashionable—and equally in the cabin of the frontier settler or a dugout on a tropical river. A multitude of men can testify that he seemed to them just their kind. Upon this side of Roosevelt's life, upon his ever fresh interest in his fellow men, posterity will love to dwell. Good stories will be told about him, as about Lincoln, concerning his adaptation to all sorts of odd environments. Those who knew him best will

*Reprinted from *The New York Times* of January 12, 1919. By courtesy of the author.

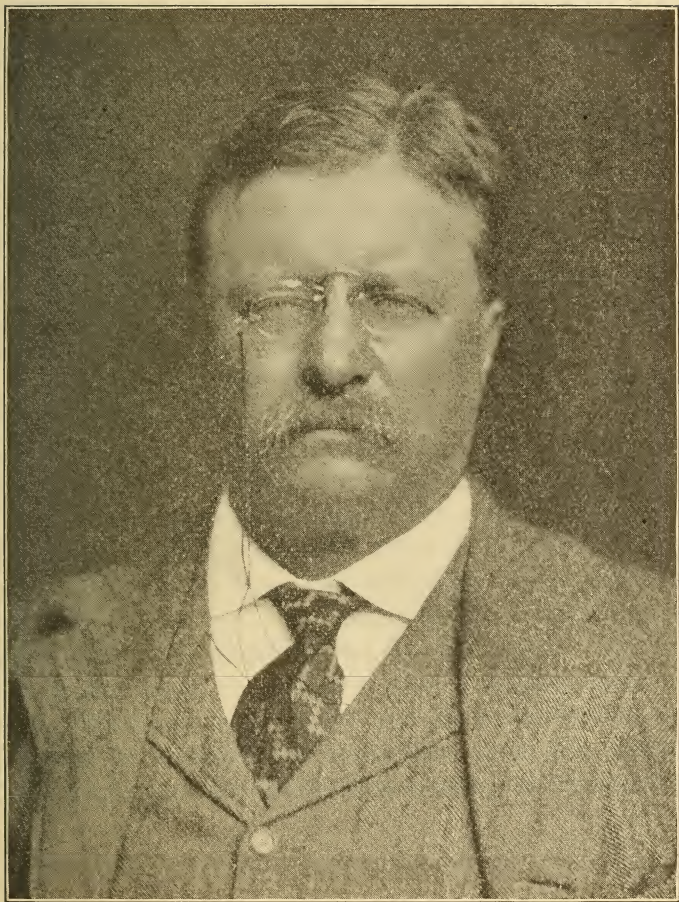
most lovingly cherish his personality, as a man and a brother, his lovableness, and his warm affection.

Beyond that personal side of the character and life of the man who has just left us is the massive figure of a statesman of worldwide reputation, a rock standing immovable amidst the waves, a far-sighted, broad-viewed, sagacious man, who knew how to gather up into his mind a variety of national problems and harmonize them into one decision. This is the time and place to consider the public side of his manifold life, to note how far he spoke for his countrymen, to discover to what degree he was a leader and an originator, and to point out his chief services to the United States of America.

Like all men who are big enough to make their own paths in life, he upraised many critics and some enemies. All personal criticism falls away now that he is removed. His big, rugged honesty and sincerity, the uprightness of his public and private life, his genuine and passionate love for his country, nobody questions them! Yet in some directions there was always an undercurrent and sometimes a strong tide of protest against him. In certain circles of conservative men of affairs Theodore Roosevelt was looked upon as a dangerous man; all his life long fighting against his own people.

No public man in the history of the United States better illustrated the sound political sagacity of a public man doing what he thinks is right. If he once has the confidence of the people they will trust him even though they do not accept his full program, even though they think he has made some mistakes.

No man is perfect in wisdom or in act. The last thing that Theodore Roosevelt's millions of admirers will claim for him is that he was an Olympian, free from the weaknesses and prejudices of mankind. He was a man. He



THEODORE ROOSEVELT

did a man's work. He had a brave and upright soul. His best service to his country, among all his benefits, was to base his action on high motives. Throughout his life he wanted to make the world better, and did whatever came to his hand to do.

As Police Commissioner, Civil Service Commissioner, as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Colonel of the Rough Riders, as Governor of New York, Vice-President and President, he felt himself the trustee of the people. Throughout his life he recognized the stern joy of duty and the delight of hitching his wagon to a star. His countrymen may well be proud of him; for he drew them to him by calling out their belief in high things.

It was a terrible disappointment to him that, when the country needed every man of power, there was no place for him to serve. He said plaintively, "This war seems very exclusive." President Roosevelt, as he had opportunity, called upon the strongest men that he could find; and could even put up with those who had not been very respectful to him. Ex-President Roosevelt—but that is now gone by! We realize that the body was no longer able to respond to the fearless spirit. We feel that in his death the country loses a mighty force for good. We know that his life and his achievements are inscribed in imperishable characters upon the history of the world and the affectionate memory of his country.

PART FOUR

INCENTIVES TO PATRIOTISM

CIVIC CREEDS*

In ancient Athens, the fathers taught their boys a pledge which, when the boys were about eighteen years of age, they publicly recited:

"We will never bring disgrace to this city by any act of dishonesty or cowardice, nor ever desert our suffering comrades in the ranks.

"We will fight for the ideals and sacred things of the city, both singly and together. We will revere and obey the city's laws, and do our best to incite a like respect and reverence in those above us who are prone to annul or set them at naught.

"We will strive unceasingly to quicken the public sense of civic duty. Thus in all these ways we will transmit this city not only not less, but greater, better and more beautiful than it was transmitted to us."

To-day it is as necessary that we pledge ourselves to keep alive the ideals of honor, truth, and right, of bravery and self-sacrifice as it was in the days of Athens the City-State. In those days the cities were small and the citizens themselves lived for the most part on their little farms amid their olives and their vines; to-day the tendency is toward crowding into the modern city with its narrow streets and its bad air, its tenements swarming with ill-nourished children whose only playground is the street.

Farseeing students of our civic life see that our only hope for a citizenship as sturdy in mind and body as

*Adapted from Edwin O. Grover's *Creed*. By permission of the author.

that which populated the United States in revolutionary days lies with the countrybred boy and girl. It is the country boy's creed which to-day voices the most wholesome spirit of to-day. This creed, so beautifully expressed by Edwin Osgood Grover, breathes forth that love of the land itself which is the vital spark of true patriotism. In it he says:

"I believe that the country which God made is more beautiful than the city which man made; that life out of doors and in touch with the earth is the natural life of man. I believe that work is work wherever we find it, but that work with nature is more inspiring than work with the most intricate machinery. I believe that the dignity of labor depends not on what you do, but on how you do it; that opportunity comes to a boy on the farm as often as to a boy in the city, that life is larger and freer and happier on the farm than in the town; that my success depends not on my location, but upon myself—not upon my dreams, but upon what I actually do; not upon luck, but upon pluck. I believe in working when you work—and in playing when you play, and in giving and demanding a square deal in every act of life."

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. How can a citizen best serve his city and state? 2. Do you think that "life is larger and freer and happier on a farm than in a town"? Why?

I AM AN AMERICAN*

I was a pilgrim seeking a place. I was a Catholic in quest of freedom for my faith. I was a Protestant flee-

*Adapted from *The Rotarian*. By permission.

ing a persecution I could no longer bear. I was a Jew, an outcast, carrying the burden of centuries of unreprieve. I was a political Zero with no function to serve. I was a Mind, kept unschooled lest knowledge set me free. I was a Man, made in the image of my Creator as other men are, but bending low before the power of a fellow man.

And so I left the land of my fathers to begin again in a strange, wild land. I came to America.

I did not come to build castles. These were the badge of kings who said that God had appointed them to be keepers of the riches I produce. It was enough for me that I should live, they said. I did not believe that. I began to build a new free home in the wilderness. Patiently I induced, compelled, the entrained soil to share its bounty. I contended with wild men. In seventy-six I fought and bled to hold the winnings so hardily earned. In the sixties I fought and bled again to free myself of Old World wrongs and keep the new Nation whole.

Thus I made America.

And America made me—a new man, still a Protestant, still a Catholic, still a Jew, but first an American. No longer a nonentity but a man bending only in the voluntary service of mankind. America has given me Opportunity, the golden wand which has transformed me from a chattel to the peer of any man on earth.

Am I great enough, strong enough to keep what I have made? Have I builded better than I knew? Do I realize, now, that America contains the inspiration and the purifying principle for the world? Does American Liberty mean anything in particular to me? Is it more than a mere nation of people, conceived in the freedom loving thought of a hundred nations, builded of human

desperation and kept whole by the will and determination of noble incentive? Will I earnestly work, willingly give, and gladly sacrifice to save my America and thereby save the world?

Yes, I will. And why? Because—
I am an American.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Why are castles the badge of kings?
2. Why are you an American?

AM I A GOOD CITIZEN?*

MEREDITH NICHOLSON

“Keep out of politics!” is a warning given constantly to young men who show an inclination to interest themselves in public affairs. The civic standard is low in any community where a reputable citizen who seeks office encounters suspicion, reproach, or obloquy. The full powers confided to the people presuppose the participation of all citizens in the business of government.

Every citizen is “in” politics. The Constitution of the United States puts him there, and his conscience grants no exemptions.

I have heard men boast that they never perform jury service, or that they have a “pull” that gains them some other immunity. A corruptible public official finds his job unprofitable unless he is able to enter into partnership with another bad citizen.

If I am more concerned with my privileges and immunities than with my duties, I am skidding; I am on the way to becoming a bad citizen. If I neglect to

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vote because it is inconvenient to meet that obligation, or I assume that my neighbors will protect me with their ballots, I am a dodger and a slacker.

Blind confidence in government by good luck is bound to bring disaster. The constant vigilance and intelligent action of all the people is essential to enlightened, capable government.

Am I a good citizen? is the first question in the American catechism. Government is a complex business, but citizenship may be reduced to three essentials: understanding, loyalty, and service.

This morning I saw a boy scout walk to the middle of the street, pick up a piece of paper, and deposit it in the litter-box at the next corner. He didn't have to do that; it was my business quite as much as his. That lad exemplified the good citizenship that is always on the job.

In the rebuilding of the wall of Jerusalem, every man labored "over against his house." In like manner, an American citizen's duty to his country is immediate and personal, and lies at his own door.

When I say to myself, "I hold an inalienable partnership in this nation; its prosperity and happiness rest with me," then I have caught the spirit of true Americanism. Then indeed I am a worthy citizen of this mighty republic and a contributor to the forces that make for its perpetuity.

THE IDEAL REPUBLIC*

WILLIAM J. BRYAN

For more than a century this nation has been a world

*From his reply to the Notification Committee, August 8, 1900.
By courtesy of the author.

power. For ten decades it has been the most potent influence in the world. Not only has it been a world power but it has done more to affect the politics of the human race than all the other nations of the world combined. Because our Declaration of Independence was promulgated, others have been promulgated. Because the patriots of 1776 fought for liberty, others have fought for it; because our Constitution was adopted, other constitutions have been adopted. The growth of the principle of self-government, planted on American soil, has been the overshadowing political fact of the nineteenth century. It has made this nation conspicuous among the nations and given it a place in history such as no other nation has ever enjoyed. Nothing has been able to check the onward march of this idea. I am not willing that this nation shall cast aside the omnipotent weapon of truth to seize again the weapon of physical warfare. I would not exchange the glory of this Republic for the glory of all the empires that have risen and fallen since time began.

I can conceive of a national destiny surpassing the glories of the present and the past—a destiny which meets the responsibilities of to-day and measures up to the possibilities of the future. Behold a Republic resting securely upon the foundation stones quarried by revolutionary patriots from the mountain of eternal truth, a Republic applying in practice and proclaiming to the world the self-evident proposition that all men are created equal; that they are endowed with inalienable rights; that governments are instituted among men to secure these rights, and that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. Behold a Republic in which civil and religious liberty stimulates all to earnest endeavors and in which the law restrains

every hand uplifted for a neighbor's injury—a Republic in which every citizen is a sovereign, but in which no one cares to wear a crown. Behold a Republic standing erect while empires all around are bowed beneath the weight of their own armaments—a Republic whose flag is loved while other flags are only feared. Behold a Republic increasing in population, in wealth, in strength and in influence, solving the problems of civilization and hastening the coming of an universal brotherhood—a Republic which shakes thrones and dissolves aristocracies by its silent example and gives light and inspiration to those who sit in darkness. Behold a Republic gradually, but surely, becoming the supreme moral factor in the world's progress and the accepted arbiter of the world's disputes—a Republic whose history, like the path of the just, 'is as the shining light that shineth more and more unto the perfect day.'

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

1. Do you agree with the author's conception of an ideal republic? 2. How does Mr. Bryan differ from President Wilson in regard to international relations?

WHY DOES THE NATION PAY FOR THE SCHOOLS?

WILLIAM McANDREW

Every minute of every school day costs money. Who pays it? If you should trace the dollars that are spent for buildings, books and teaching, you would find them coming from the public taxes. But everybody pays the taxes. The buyer of a coat, a shoe, a loaf of bread, pays something more for it because the storekeeper must pay his rent. His rent costs him something more because

the owner of the property must pay the taxes. You may readily see that the whole community, those who own no property, and those who own any, pay for the schools.

It is not your father, alone, who paid for your schooling, your uncle, your neighbor, those who know you and those who never saw you, are taxed to provide the money that educates you. Why? Because the people of America decided that they would govern themselves and that as a people, united in a government, they would educate the growing generation in the principles which distinguish the American government from the autocracies of the old world.

There was education before there was an American Republic. There were schools before the Revolution of 'Seventy-Six. What was their purpose? Was it not to sell to their customers a distinction, a power, an accomplishment by which each educated person might get on in the world and rise above the common herd? But this was not what Washington and Franklin, Adams and Jefferson, and those other founders of free public schools in America, set as the purpose. No such aim can justify taxation of all the people to maintain a school system.

By no means.

The American public school is not for the selfish advantage of each separate boy and girl; it is not to lift them above their fellows. The public school is for the general welfare; to produce citizens who will serve the community in peace as well as in war, who will give their time and their money to public benefit, who will serve on town committees, who will make sacrifices to accept public office, who will keep well informed upon the public needs and who will create unselfishness and patriotic public opinion.

These are facts the schools must teach. These are

duties the output of the schools must perform. Otherwise the original purpose of the American public schools is lost.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Give further facts and examples to show (1) why the state is justified in taxing the childless rich man for the support of the public schools, and (2) what the state may properly expect of you in the way of public service.

A CHARTER OF DEMOCRACY*

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

We believe in pure democracy. With Lincoln, we hold that "this country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it." We believe that the people have the right, the power, and the duty to protect themselves and their own welfare; that human rights are supreme over all other rights; that wealth should be the servant, not the master, of the people. We believe that unless representative government does absolutely represent the people it is not representative government at all. We test the worth of all men and all measures by asking how they contribute to the welfare of the men, women, and children of whom this nation is composed. We are engaged in one of the great battles of the age-long contest waged against privilege on behalf of the common welfare.

This country, as Lincoln said, belongs to the people. So do the natural resources which make it rich. They supply the basis of our prosperity now and hereafter. In preserving them, which is a national duty, we must

*From a speech before the Ohio Constitutional Convention, February, 1912.

not forget that monopoly is based on the control of natural resources and natural advantages, and that it will help the people little to conserve our natural wealth unless the benefits which it can yield are secured to the people. Let us remember, also, that conservation does not stop with the natural resources, but that the principle of making the best use of all we have requires with equal or greater insistence that we shall stop the waste of human life in industry and prevent the waste of human welfare which flows from the unfair use of concentrated power and wealth in the hands of men whose eagerness for profit blinds them to the cost of what they do. We have no higher duty than to promote the efficiency of the individual. There is no surer road to the efficiency of the nation.

All constitutions, those of the States no less than that of the nation, are designed, and must be interpreted and administered so as to fit human rights. Lincoln so interpreted and administered the National Constitution. Buchanan attempted the reverse, attempted to fit human rights to, and limit them by, the Constitution. It was Buchanan who treated the courts as a fetish, who protested against and condemned all criticism of the judges for unjust and unrighteous decisions, and upheld the Constitution as an instrument for the protection of privilege and of vested wrong. It was Lincoln who appealed to the people against the judges when the judges went wrong, who advocated and secured what was practically the recall of the Dred Scott decision, and who treated the Constitution as a living force for righteousness. We stand for applying the Constitution to the issues of to-day as Lincoln applied it to the issues of his day; Lincoln, mind you, and not Buchanan, was the real upholder and preserver of the Constitution, for

the true progressive, the progressive of the Lincoln stamp, is the only true constitutionalist, the only real conservative. The object of every American Constitution worth calling such must be what is set forth to be in the preamble of the National Constitution, "to establish justice," that is, to secure justice as between man and man by means of genuine popular self-government.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What is a "pure democracy"? 2. Who was James Buchanan?

INTERNATIONAL PATRIOTISM*

BLISS PERRY

The unpatriotic man is not the internationalist; he is the citizen of any country who does not care what is going on beyond his own village so long as his own dinner pail is full. If he is an American, what makes him unpatriotic is not that he holds this or that view in regard to this or that policy; what makes him unpatriotic is the belief that the good father at Washington will attend to all that and it is not any business of his.

The visionaries are the men who can see nothing in the world except the chariots and the horses and the future campaigns. The visionaries are the men who have forgotten their multiplication tables, and forgotten history, and ignored human nature, and believe that it is safe to play with fire, who under the pretense of taking no chances are making chances; who are doing as they did in Melrose the other day—piling dynamite on a wagon, and then giving the wagon to a boy to drive. Those, I say, are the impractical men. The advocates of peace

*Used by courtesy of the author.

have with a clear vision, with steady forethought and purpose, been building a strait road for the nations of the world to walk in, and that road can be seen by every man.

Our foreign friends in making the acquaintance of other Boston institutions should not fail to take notice of the Boston policeman.

He is one of the finest specimens of his profession; he speaks softly and he carries his "big stick"—in his pocket. He is patient, he is respectful, he is self-respecting. Now when the white-gloved hand of a policeman on one of our dangerous narrow crossings is raised, the whirling electric car and the murderous automobile and the laden dray stop, so that our women and children may go safely over. We respect the policeman, not because he is the embodiment of arbitrary, despotic force, but because he represents the peace sentiment of the citizens of Boston. Now we advocates of peace are not impractical enough to believe that the time has yet come when we need no police at the world's cross roads. We do need policemen in Armenia and in the Congo Free State; but we ask that they shall not be sent there by greedy powers or through the chivalry of a single nation. We ask that they shall stand there as the embodiment of international law, and backed by international public opinion.

We have used the Boston policeman as a type; let us use the Boston subway as an allegory. A few years ago Tremont Street was in a state of hopeless confusion—turmoil, blockade, warfare, nothing less. One day some one began a quarter of a mile away from Tremont Street to dig a hole in the ground. He had the subway in his mind—and to-day men are carried from the suburbs of the city to the heart of the city by a swift and safe and

pleasant course. Now when you return to your homes you will be able to tell your friends that you have been riding in the Boston subway, and you can also say that you have been helping yourself to dig a bigger and a better subway than that, namely, the road that leads straight from heart to heart of the great nations of the world—the road of goodwill. It is hard to do that kind of digging year in and year out. There is the solid rock of opposition still to be blasted. But we must remember that all the poetry does not belong to the men of war. We must praise this road that we are building against the shifting sands of popular sentiment, drifting, changing with the hour. But the road has already been marked, and the proceedings of the last five days have given another yard or another hundred yards to it; and those forward steps once taken can never be retraced. We have no right to say, in those solemn words that Tolstoy prints at the head of his pamphlet, “This is your hour, and the power of darkness.” Perhaps we have not yet won the right to say, “This is our hour, and the power of right,” but we can at least say with St. Paul, “Brethren, now is our salvation nearer than when we first believed.”

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Where is Armenia? How is it governed?
2. Who owns the Congo district? Who was Tolstoy?

THE LAW OF SERVICE*

LYMAN ABBOTT

Service is the law of life. There is no such thing as independence. For the coffee that you drank this morn-

*Extract from the Baccalaureate Sermon at the University of Texas, June 17, 1900. Used by courtesy of the author.

ing at breakfast the berries were probably picked in Mexico or in South America; then they were brought here by the steamship or the railroads, then handled by the merchant and then prepared for the table. Some one raised the wheat in Minnesota, some one else ground it in Minneapolis, some one else brought it here, some one else cooked it. How many men were employed simply in getting for us our breakfast! We are dependent not only on the present, but on all the past. How many broken hearts, how many disappointed ambitions, how many abandoned hopes before the locomotive was perfected which may take you to your homes to-morrow! Can you go to the grave and pay the dead? Can you pay for what the past has done for you? You can only pass on to the future some service in acknowledgment of that which the past has rendered you.

There are only four ways in which a man can get anything in this world. He can make it by his own industry; he can receive it as a gift; he can filch it from somebody else; he can contrive to take it out of the common stock which God meant for his children. Now, of these four ways there is only one way that is honest and self-respecting for a man with bodily vigor and intellectual ability, and that is to make it by his honest industry.

In Cuba seven hundred men, women and children died each week before General Wood established an order requiring the citizens to clean house. They did not want to do so, but they were compelled, and as a result of the cleaning the mortality has been reduced from seven hundred to fifty or sixty per week. Six hundred and forty died every week before their time because the citizens did not wish cleanliness. But it was just to compel them to do what they did not consent to do,

and so save the lives of six hundred and forty without the consent of the governed.

This which is the law for the regulation of the nation in its international relations is the law for its regulation within itself; by it must be determined all questions of local administration. Mr. Croker, upon the witness stand in New York, is asked the question, "Mr. Croker, you are in politics for what you can get out of it?" and replies, "Yes, sir; all day, and every day in the week." This is the answer of a boss. Men say, we must have leaders in politics. Certainly we must. But what we must have, is not a man who is in politics for what he can get out of it all day and every day in the week; he is not a leader, he is a boss. The leader walks in front of the procession and the others follow voluntarily; the boss walks behind with the whip. Leadership and bossism are absolutely inconsistent. I call on you solemnly to swear before God and your flag that so far as you can help it there shall never be in your country a government of the boss, by the boss, and for the boss, but that it shall be a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What does Dr. Abbott mean when he says that "Service is the law of life"?
2. Why are leadership and bossism inconsistent?

AMERICA A WORLD POWER*

WOODROW WILSON

America may be said to have just received her majority as a world power. It was almost exactly twenty-one

*The concluding part of a speech before the Senate, July 10, 1919.

years ago that the results of the war with Spain put us unexpectedly in possession of rich islands on the other side of the world and brought us into association with other governments in the control of the West Indies. It was regarded as a sinister and ominous thing by the statesmen of more than one European chancellory that we should have extended our power beyond the confines of our continental dominions. They were accustomed to think of new neighbors as a new menace, of rivals as watchful enemies. There were persons among us at home who looked with deep disapproval and avowed anxiety on such extensions of our national authority over distant islands and over peoples whom they feared we might exploit, not serve and assist. But we have not exploited them. We have been their friends and have sought to serve them. And our dominion has been a menace to no other nation. We redeemed our honor to the utmost in our dealings with Cuba. She is weak, but absolutely free; and it is her trust in us that makes her free. Weak peoples everywhere stand ready to give us any authority among them that will assure them a like friendly oversight and direction. They know that there is no ground for fear in receiving us as their mentors and guides.

Our isolation was ended twenty years ago; and now fear of us is ended also, our counsel and association sought after and desired. There can be no question of our increasing to be a world power. The only question is whether we can refuse the moral leadership that is offered us, whether we shall accept or reject the confidence of the world.

The war and the conference of peace now sitting in Paris seem to me to have answered that question. Our participation in the war established our position among

the nations, and nothing but our own mistaken action can alter it. It was not an accident or a matter of sudden choice that we are no longer isolated and devoted to a policy which has only our own interest and advantage for its object. It was our duty to go in, if we were indeed the champions of liberty and of right.

We answered to the call of duty in a way so spirited, so utterly without thought of what we spent of blood or treasure, so effective, so worthy of the admiration of true men everywhere, so wrought out of the stuff of all that was heroic, that the whole world saw at last, in the flesh, in noble action, a great ideal asserted and vindicated, by a nation they had deemed material and now found to be compact of the spiritual forces that free men of every nation from every unworthy bondage. It is thus that a new role and a new responsibility have come to this great nation that we honor and which we would all wish to lift to yet higher levels and service and achievement.

The stage is set, the destiny disclosed. It has come about by no plan of our conceiving, but by the hand of God, who led us into this way. We can not turn back, we can only go forward, with lifted eyes and freshened spirit, to follow the vision. It was of this that we dreamed at our birth. America shall in truth show the way. The light streams upon the path ahead, and nowhere else.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What has America done with the colonies captured from Spain in 1898? 2. Compare the number of American troops engaged in the Spanish-American War with the number sent to fight Germany.

AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP*

DANIEL WEBSTER

We have indulged in gratifying recollections of the past, in the prosperity and pleasures of the present, and in high hopes for the future. But let us remember that we have duties and obligations to perform corresponding to the blessing which we enjoy. Let us remember the trust, the sacred trust, attaching to the rich inheritance which we have received from our fathers. Let us feel our personal responsibility to the full extent of our power and influence, for the preservation of the principles of civil and religious liberty. And let us remember that it is only religion and morals, and knowledge, that can make men respectable and happy, under any form of government. Let us hold fast the great truth, that communities are responsible as well as individuals; that no government is respectable which is not just; that without unspotted purity of public faith, without sacred public principle, fidelity, and honor, no mere forms of government, no machinery of laws, can give dignity to political society. In our day and generation, let us seek to raise and improve the moral sentiment, so that we may look, not for a degraded, but for an elevated and improved future. And when both we and our children shall have been consigned to the house appointed for all living, may love of country, and pride of country, glow with equal fervor among those to whom our names and our blood shall have descended.

And then, when honored and decrepit age shall lean against the base of this monument, and troops of ingenuous youth shall be gathered around it, and when the one shall speak to the other of its objects, the purposes of its

*From the Bunker Hill Oration.

construction, and the great and glorious events with which it is connected, then shall rise from every youthful breast the ejaculation, "Thank God, I—I also—am an American!"

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Who was Daniel Webster? 2. What is the inheritance which we have received from our fathers? 3. What historical event does the Bunker Hill Monument commemorate?

DEMOCRACY IN EDUCATION*

PHILANDER P. CLAXTON

If democracy has any valuable and ultimate meaning it is equality of opportunity. But there can be no equality of opportunity without equality of opportunity in education. If to any child this is denied and it is permitted to grow to manhood or womanhood without that education which prepares it for good living, for the duties and responsibilities of citizenship, and for making an honest living by some intelligent, useful occupation, then there is nothing which individual or society can do, nothing which man or God can do, to make good the loss. More than ever before are we beginning to understand that material progress, social purity, civic righteousness, political stability and strength, and the possibilities of culture and the attainment of higher ideals, all depend on the right education of all the people. If any man or woman follows his or her trade or profession with less intelligence and skill than he or she might, the total amount of wealth produced is less than it might be. If any lack knowledge of fundamental principles of

*From the Report of the United States Commissioner of Education, 1915.

government and institutional life necessary for intelligent citizenship in our democracy, the civic and political life of city, state, and nation is affected thereby. If the health, the culture, or the moral education of any has been neglected, all society and each of its members must suffer as a result. If any, through wrong education or the inculcation of false ideals, work at occupations for which they are not fitted or in which they may not serve themselves and society as well as they might in other ways, their own lives and the lives of us all are less full and satisfactory than they might otherwise be. We are bound up in the sheaf of life together, and our interests from the lowest to the highest and from the highest to the lowest are inextricably interwoven. Therefore the liberal use of public funds for the support of schools and other agencies of education is more and more clearly recognized as good business, and careful thinking and planning for the fullest and best education of all the children of all the people as the highest duty of citizenship.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What do we mean by "equality of opportunity"?—
2. How does education prepare us for the duties and responsibilities of citizenship?

AMERICANS FOR AMERICA

LAURETTE TAYLOR

America has always been of complex population; it always will be, and should be. The six white bars of the flag represent the six different racial stocks who battled for freedom against a German monarch and

*From *The Delineator* for November, 1918. Used by permission.

his Hessian guardsmen in 1776. It is in our complexity of inheritance that America is truly great, verily the Land of the Free. Our nation was born, and has been reborn and reborn again in its immigrants. Thank God for them. But God forbid that the great principles on which the Union stands should ever be re-shaped or replaced by other principles; that our noble traditions should be warped by traditions of other lands; or that our culture and beliefs should give way to alien modes of thought and beliefs born of life in Europe which are false to the life of what is really America.

Aliens in our midst should not blame American ideals and methods of government for evils which they have brought with them to our shores. It is true that the alien has suffered from industrial exploitation; but it is also true that he has been exploited, not by Americans, but by men of his own blood. The everlasting agitators, and a certain type of sophomoric highbrow, mouth loudly and continually of "Democracy." Pity is that the ignorant and the self-seeking unite so frequently to follow such leadership.

The United States is founded on freedom to worship God as each man will, and on a perpetual guarantee to each and every man of the right to live, to enjoy liberty, and to pursue happiness. I wonder how many of those who find so much fault with this country and its system of government have ever stopped to analyze what these precious guerdons of our freedom really mean? I wonder if, in the light of an hour's quiet thought about only a few of our great national privileges, they would howl so much against our institutions, or demand in such unthinking terms an unqualified democracy? I wonder if they really know the sacred principles of Americanism or if they are too careless, too ignorant of history on both

sides of the Atlantic, to treasure at their value, and to defend against every enemy, these priceless heritages of America?

Or, if they are citizens, and have not sufficient appreciation of the responsibilities of their citizenship, let them learn one lesson, the greatest, I think, of all the great lessons that our country teaches us. It is this:

The government of these United States was set up, and exists, and derives its just powers from the consent of the people it governs. It is so organized, and so balanced with great care, as to secure by law to every person his inalienable rights. Therefore it is a democracy. But, besides doing all this, our system of government, not content with protecting our people under its laws, is also equipped with safeguards to prevent injustice by law. If mob spirit should lead a majority to enact unjust laws, in the final analysis our highest tribunal of justice stands between those unjust laws and the man or woman who, without this check on the popular will of the many, might suffer from them.

A democracy—yes, but not a democracy like that of Danton and Robespierre, which bathed France with blood; or that of Lenine and Trotsky, which has given Russia temporarily to the dogs of fate—the United States is a democracy which recognizes that there are eternal principles of right and justice against which its own self-willed wrong or injustice must not be permitted to prevail—a democracy which acknowledges, as those other two would not, that above its own will stands the infinitely greater authority of Right, and the infinite principles of God Himself.

Let us not wander in quest of false ideals or give ear to empty heroics and loud imaginings.

Do not mistake the rabid vibrations of demagogues

and experimentalists for the heart-beat of the American nation. That great, steady pulse throbs strong, sturdy, true. When we need guidance in Americanism—in the kind of Americanism in which our nation was conceived and born, and has grown great—let us follow our own great law-givers: Washington, Hamilton, Jefferson, Webster, Calhoun, Lincoln.

God makes no man a slave, no doubter free;
Abiding faith alone wins liberty.

Let us have faith in the eternal principles of Americanism, and our example, not less than our good sword, will make this world a decent place to live in.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Explain the allusion in the second sentence of the first paragraph.
2. How have aliens in America been exploited?
3. Who was Danton? Robespierre?

EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY*

WILL H. HAYS

Let all well-wishers of good government, regardless of party affiliations—let all those who love their country and its institutions listen for a moment, listen with eyes aloft, listen to the voice of experience and the call of inspiration from the spirit of America which was Washington and Lincoln and Roosevelt—listen and hear from them the call: Carry on, Americans! Carry on! Carry on! Carry on, now, against the foes of our own household as you fought at Valley Forge, at the Argonne and at Chateau-Thierry. Carry on! Carry on! Find

*Reprinted from *The Saturday Evening Post*, May 8, 1920. Copyrighted, 1920, by the Curtis Publishing Company, Philadelphia.

disloyalty if there be disloyalty, and scotch it; find dishonesty if there be dishonesty, and crush it; find the right, and cleave unto it. Keep your eyes raised, Americans, but keep your feet on solid ground!

Find the reason for discontent, and meet it squarely; correct the cause where there is a cause, and mercilessly destroy the excuse where it is an excuse only. Find exact justice and demand it—demand it for all men and require it from all men. Remember the stuff you are made of, Americans. Remember the heritage which is yours. Remember—and be encouraged. The manhood and womanhood of America are sound. The stress of late days has strained all overmuch.

Be patient with one another, but as you value your country's future wait not a moment to realize the emergency, nor longer delay your action. Each one is equally responsible. Stop and look within. Look, each one, to your own industry and thrift. Look to your own conscience and moral responsibility, and in the whirl of the storm about you seize upon common sense and good conscience. Holding fast, then, lift yourselves from the maelstrom of unrest and regain for yourselves your own sound judgment—and then reach for others as they are hurled by.

Yes, forget not the others who are about you. It is as dangerous now as it was just outside the walls of Eden to ask in surprise: "Am I my brother's keeper?" Remember, we all go up or we all go down together. The great power which is the spirit of America must not tolerate any attempt to array group against group, section against section or sect against sect. Guard against this as you would against a pestilence; the nation has no greater enemy than one who would thus divide the country against itself.

While you are in turmoil our late enemies are marshaling with dispatch all of their industrial resources, so let not our great accomplishments in war be marred by our inability to order our own affairs. Mere agitation and mere motion are not progress. The vicious circle is not the shortest distance between honest effort and highest reward. Remember that one man is better than another only when he does better. Give all well-behaved men and women their equality of opportunity, and require from them their full measure of accountability. Live and let live is not enough—we must live and help live—and, as you live and help live, find always exact justice and enforce it.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What are the important facts to be remembered about Valley Forge?
2. Who was it who said: "Am I my brother's keeper"?

EQUAL JUSTICE AND OPPORTUNITY*

ALBERT SHIELS

The principles of democracy are equal justice and equal opportunity for all men of all degree. The people do not themselves legislate, judge, execute. For one hundred millions this would mean chaos. But they are free to elect directly or indirectly, as they may decide, their legislators, judges and executives.

In a more profound sense, ours is a democracy of the people. The character of the people must decide the character of the government, just as it decides the character of the nation. The form of our government is

*Extract from a series of articles entitled *Americanization*. Used by permission of the author.

near perfection. Even the form in itself guarantees nothing. The people determine wisely and honestly only if they are themselves wise and honest.

The government will be a good government if those who own it love it and work for it, and if they labor to make their fellows love it and work for it. It can be made a poor government. Then the fault lies where it belongs. No one man in this democracy can wrap his toga about him and stalk away saying, "I have done my duty, let others do what they will." He is in the same boat with the rest, and he cannot save himself alone. Not only must he be a good citizen, but he must make the other one as good as he, or he goes down with him. That is Americanization—making yourself and every other one you can worthy of America.

We are so much stronger, so much happier, so much better placed to-day than any other nation of the world, that even with all the faults we have, democracy stands triumphant. These things we owe to the wealth of the land, to the sturdy spirits that moved our frontiers from the Mississippi to the Western ocean, to the wisdom of the fathers, to the form of government we enjoy. As we become better Americans we shall learn not only our duty to the future but our obligation to the past. And the foreigners who wish to be good citizens must share the lessons with us.

When our shops and factories are open for instruction for the illiterate and non-English speaking foreigner, when our schools no longer figure as wearisome incursions on the taxpayer, but rather as a splendid investment to make a better nation; when men and women, employers and employees, meet in constant conference to discuss their problems; when strikes and lockouts will be looked

upon as only the most remote, unscientific methods of solution; when forums are established, and men and women, thoughtless of class distinction, will join in their communities to make a better city; when civic duty will not be a single annual vote at the ballot box, but a constant theme for unselfish thinking and unselfish labor, we shall all be in a fair way toward a real program of Americanization.

All this seems an extravagant picture, yet every feature of it is being done somewhere, while nowhere are all these features organized into one composite whole. When that day comes there will be little room for the advance agent of professional discontent. He will not be abused; he will be laughed out of his corner pulpit.

All these manifold activities will be developed as they become worth while. Every American wants the safety of his own property and the security of his own person assured. He wants industry to be profitable, whether he is employer or wage-earner. He wants opportunity for leisure and facilities for its enjoyment. He wants efficient government and honest administration. He has come to think that it is hard to have them together so he feels he must grab to get his share. Yet, if he and every one else could enjoy them together, he would be happy. He would even go further, and pay a considerable premium to insure their possession for everybody. Yet these things are possible—possible if every one would work together to get them. The premium to be paid is not money, but time, labor and unselfish public interest. To have this faith, to back it up by works, to labor for its consummation among foreigners and native born, is real Americanism.

THE DUTY AND VALUE OF PATRIOTISM

ARCHBISHOP JOHN IRELAND

The human race pays homage to patriotism because of its supreme value. The value of patriotism to a people is above gold and precious stones, above commerce and industry, above citadels and warships. Patriotism is the vital spark of the nation's honor, the living joint of the nation's prosperity, the strong shield of the nation's safety.

When the fathers of the Republic declared: "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," a principle was enunciated which, in its truth, was as old as the race, but in practical realization was almost unknown.

The divine gift of liberty is God's recognition of man's greatness and man's dignity. In liberty lie the sweetness of life and the power of growth. The loss of liberty is the loss of light and sunshine, the loss of life's best portion. Under the spell of heavenly memories, humanity never has ceased to dream of liberty, and to aspire to its possession. Now and then, here and there, liberty had for a moment caressed humanity's brow. But not until the Republic of the West was born, not until the Star-Spangled Banner rose toward the skies, was liberty caught up in humanity's embrace and embodied in a great and abiding nation.

In America the government takes from the liberty of the citizen only so much as is necessary for the weal of the nation. In America there are no masters who govern in their own right, for their own interest, or at their own will. We have over us no Bourbon saying:

"The State, I am the State"; no Hohenzollern proclaiming that in his acts as sovereign he is responsible only to his conscience and to God. Ours is the government of the people, by the people, and for the people. Our government is our own organized will.

In America, rights begin with and go upward from the people. In other countries, even in those which are apparently the most free, rights begin with and come downward from the state; the rights of citizens, the rights of the people are concessions which have been wrested from the government.

In America, whenever the government does not prove its grant, the liberty of the individual citizen remains intact. Elsewhere there are governments called republics; there, too, universal suffrage establishes the state; but once established, the state is tyrannous and arbitrary; invades at will private rights and curtails at will individual liberty. One republic only is liberty's native home—America.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Who said, "I am the State"?
2. Explain the allusion to "Hohenzollern."

AMERICANISM—WHAT DOES IT MEAN*

RABBI EMANUEL STERNHEIM

Patriotism is an immense natural force, a magical spell. It rests on the tie of blood which extends to the whole nation. It is based upon our home, the actual place to which we are bound by affection. Furthermore, it is based upon our reaction upon the world, language, ideas, modes of life, social habits.

*From *Social Service Review*, April-June, 1920.

Americanism must speak to us of the great events which have come to ruffle our calm but to ennoble our character; and to put the coping stone upon the handiwork of centuries, which is the perfection of our American system of democracy. In these terms we must spell patriotism as the first element in our ideal of Americanism.

An enlightened opinion, however, and a lofty conception are not either in themselves or together sufficient. We need a lofty conception of service added as a part of the three-fold ideal of what Americanism means to us as individuals.

If training for citizenship in our public schools is to be vital and enduring, it must express itself in some organized form of community service. The army makes an appeal to the young and is composed largely of young men. Why should not recognized forms of public service be offered to our youth? They have more time than they know how to employ. The young prove efficient in industry; why should they not be efficient in the service of the community? They are eager for adventure and are more capable of devotion than they will ever be again. If they are given something to do in the service of the state and community, they will attain the art of social efficiency and will have a marked degree of public spirit for the rest of life. What form this service should take, I will not attempt to say, but I believe it will be one of the notable developments in the future training of our citizens. If the state calls youth to military service and must prescribe an age limit below which they shall be kept from the call of industry, is it not the part of wisdom to give them an honored and responsible place in the community and the state?

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. In what ways can we combine for community service?
2. How does one enter public life in America?

GOOD CITIZENSHIP*

HENRY CABOT LODGE

Assuming that good citizenship necessarily implies service of some sort to the state, the country, or the public, it must be understood, of course, that such service may vary widely in amount or in degree. The man and woman who have a family of children, educate them, bring them up honorably and well, teaching them to love their country, are good citizens, and deserving well of the republic. The man, who, in order to care for his family and give his children a fair start in life, labors honestly and diligently at his trade, profession, or business, and who casts his vote conscientiously at all elections, adds to the strength as well as to the material prosperity of the country, and thus fulfills some of the primary and most important duties of good citizenship.

No man can hope to be a useful citizen in the broadest sense, in the United States, unless he takes a continuous and intelligent interest in politics and a full share, not only in the elections, but also in the primary operations which determine the choice of candidates. For this everyone has time enough, and, if he says that he has not, it is because he is indifferent when he ought to be intensely and constantly interested. If he follows public affairs from day to day, and, thus informed, acts with his

*From *A Frontier Town and Other Essays*. Copyright, 1906, Charles Scribner's Sons. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

friends and those who think as he does at the caucus and the polls, he will make his influence fully felt and will meet completely the test of good citizenship.

It is not essential to take office. But it would be well if every man could have, for a short period, some experience in the actual work of government in his city, state, or nation, even if he has no intention of following a political career. Such an experience does more to broaden a man's knowledge of the difficulties of public administration than anything else. It helps him to understand how he can practically attain that which he thinks is best for the state, and, most important of all, it enables him to act with other men, and to judge justly those who are doing the work of public life.

It is essential that every man who desires to be a useful citizen should not only take part in moulding public sentiment, in selecting candidates, and in winning elections for the party or the cause in which he believes, but he should also be familiar with the character, abilities, and records of the men who must be the instruments by which the policies are to be carried out and the government administered. There are many ways, therefore, in which men may benefit and aid their fellowmen, and serve the state in which they live, but it is open to all men alike to help to govern the country and direct its course along the passing years. In the performance of this duty, any man can attain to good citizenship of the highest usefulness. It is not too much to say that our success as a nation depends upon the useful citizens who act intelligently and effectively in politics.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Some believe that a man who refrains from voting for a period of years should be deprived of the right of suffrage for a

given time. Do you? 2. Do you believe that the poll tax should be abolished? Why?

LOYALTY TO DEMOCRATIC STANDARDS*

Nothing is easier than to blame others if anything is wrong, or to leave the task to others if something a little exacting needs to be done. This is proverbially true with respect to the duties of citizenship, and in the least backward democracies, notwithstanding all national foundations have been shaken during the war, it is still a common thing for citizens to regard the civic error or obligation as that of "the other fellow." With all the deep and vital lessons of the war apparently less effective than might be expected, and with public schools weakened and, in scores of communities, closed for lack of teachers, the ordinarily patriotic American finds himself wondering what will arouse the nation to grapple with the problems of to-day, and to see that the children are properly educated to cope with the questions of to-morrow.

In these circumstances especial interest, naturally and properly, attaches to those who took part in the war. They have undergone tests, they have been awakened, presumably they care what is done in their home democracy, and for its future. So, when it developed that the demobilized millions of American soldiers and sailors were to be united in a permanent organization, persons concerned for the welfare of the United States began to ask themselves how these active, forceful young men would exercise the immense power likely to be wielded by so great a union as theirs promised to be. Would they be steady? This was one of the first questions. There has not yet been very much to show

*Condensed from an editorial in *The Christian Science Monitor* of January 7, 1920. Reprinted by permission.

how they will make their influence felt in the affairs of the nation, but what there has been is mainly of the sort to give assurance. The few dignified public utterances of the man they have placed at their head have the right ring. It is evidently his purpose to build the mighty structure of the American Legion on broad lines and on a high plane. The importance of so doing is clearly beyond estimation, for this body of young men represents no section of the nation—but the entire republic.

And what of the other millions of citizens? Perhaps they have had less in their experience to awaken them to the needs of the time than have the men who have been actually in the war, but there would seem to be enough, both of promise of progress and of cause for precaution, to interest any fairly intelligent member of a democracy. The entry of women as a great factor in national political affairs, and the advent of national constitutional prohibition, to mention nothing else, ought to inspire every well-meaning possessor of a vote to useful participation in the government of his country. As for the other side of the picture, much is heard, and ought to be heard, about the more striking manifestations of ignorance, misconception, and disloyalty, and of their possible remedy. There is, however, just as much need of reform among the idly neglectful, and among the well-dressed, comparatively well-mannered, apparently harmless people, who by secret, underhand, and wholly selfish means, impair the integrity of individuals and pervert the machinery of government.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What civic duties are shirked by the citizens of your community? 2. What will be the probable effect upon the future of our government of universal suffrage for women? Of national prohibition? 3. Cite instances to show how one may “pervert the machinery of government” for selfish ends.

LIBERTY AND DISCIPLINE*

LAWRENCE LOWELL

Americans are more familiar with the benefits of discipline in fact, than conscious of them in theory. Anyone who should try to manage a factory, a bank, a railroad, a ship, a military company, or an athletic team, on the principle of having every employee or member of the organization take whatever part in the work, and do it whatever way seemed best in his own eyes, would come to sudden grief and be mercilessly laughed at. We all know that any enterprise can be successful only if there is co-ordination of effort, or what for short we call team play.

Experience has taught us that the maximum efficiency is attained where the team play is most nearly perfect, and therefore, the subordination of the individual to the combined action is most nearly complete. Then there is the greatest harmony of action, and the least waste by friction or working at cross purposes. But everyone is aware that such a condition does not come about of itself. Men do not fit into their places in a team or organization spontaneously. Until they have become experts they do not appreciate the relation of their particular work to the plan as a whole; and even when they have become familiar with the game or the industry, they are apt to overestimate their own part in it, or disagree about the best method of attaining the result. Everyone likes to rule, and when Artemus Ward suggested that all the men in a regiment should be made Brigadier Generals at once to avoid jealousy, he touched a familiar weakness in human nature.

Believers in the principle of liberty assert that a man

*Reprinted from the *Yale Review*. Permission of the author.

will put forth more effort, and more intelligent effort, if he chooses his own field, and works in his own way, than if he labors under the constant direction of others. The mere sense of freedom is stimulating in a high degree to vigorous natures. The man who directs himself is responsible for the consequences. He guarantees the result, and stakes his character and reputation on it. If after selecting his own career he finds that he has chosen wrongly, he writes himself down a fool. The theory of liberty, then, is based upon the belief that a man is usually a better judge of his own aptitudes than anyone else can be, and that he will put forth more and better effort if he is free than if he is not.

Both these principles, of discipline and of liberty, contain much truth. Neither is absolutely true, nor can be carried to its logical extreme, for one by subjecting all a man's actions to the control of a master would lead to slavery, the other by leaving every man free to disregard the common welfare would lead to anarchy.

We have learned in this stress of nations that men cannot fight without ammunition well made in abundance; but we do not see that the crucial matter in civilization is the preparedness of young men for the work of the world; not only an ample supply of the best material but a product moulded on the best pattern, tempered and finished to the highest point of perfection. Is this the ideal of a dreamer that cannot be realized; or is it a vision which young men will see and turn to a virile faith?

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What is the difference between liberty and license?

UNITED WE STAND*

EDWIN E. SLOSSON

We Americans do not believe that people should be pressed into the same mould, machined to the same pattern. It was to escape such a process that many of us or our ancestors came to America.

America was populated by the persecuted. Puritans from England, Huguenots from France, Germans from the Rhine, Catholics from Ireland, Czecho-Slovaks from Austria-Hungary, Armenians from Turkey, Jews from Russia. These are but a few of those who fled to America for freedom from the religious, economic, racial, or military oppression at home. All these were protestants and non-conformists in the original sense of these words, whether they were Catholics or Congregationalists. They were a chosen people—chosen to be kicked out from their native lands. Whether our fathers came over in the “Mayflower” along with a shipload of furniture and pewter ware or whether they came over later in the more comfortable accommodations of a steamer steerage, it was mostly because they were considered undesirable citizens that they were forced or permitted to depart.

America is a chosen land—selected out of all parts of the world as their future home by those who desired or were obliged to leave their native countries. This is an honor that we should appreciate and endeavor to deserve. The United States is a synthetic nation. Other countries “just grewed,” like Topsy. Ours is the conscious and considered creation of its people. European and

*From the Phi Beta Kappa address at the University of Chicago, June 14, 1920. Used by permission of the author.

Asiatic countries are almost entirely populated by those who were born there and did not have energy enough to get away. Our population is largely composed of those who were not born here and had energy enough to come. What is called patriotism is sometimes not love of country but mere laziness. Our patriotism is less alloyed with this element than any other, for a large proportion of Americans love America because they have lived elsewhere. They came here because they thought they would find it best; they stay here because they have found it best. Americanism is an elective course.

Our form of government is no hand-me-down from a former generation, no misfit borrowed from another land. It is made to measure and is re-made to fit. Our social system is more of a skin than a coat. It grows with us. Every man his own tailor is the law of democracy. The king of France said, "I am the state." It was a lie and they cut off his head for it. The American citizen says, "I am the state," and it is the literal truth. All men are monarchs. This develops a sense of responsibility. In other lands the people can complain, "Why don't *they* do it?" In America we can only wonder, "Why don't we do it?"

Consequently the first lesson to be taught to an immigrant is that patriotism in the American sense is a different thing from Old World patriotism. Americanism does not mean loyalty to a king; it does not mean attachment to a particular spot of ground; it does not mean conformity to a fixed code of customs; it does not mean the perpetuation of traditional institutions; it does not mean the aversion to novel and foreign ideas; it does not mean hostility toward those who differ from us.

Americanism is one of the fine arts, the finest of all the fine arts, the art of getting along peaceably with all sorts and conditions of men. We Americans have had more experience in the practice of this art than other nations, and it is not undue boasting to say that we have acquired a certain proficiency in it. A steel mill may contain twenty different nationalities and they do not quarrel any more than so many Irishmen or Poles in their native land. A city block is a map of Europe in miniature. The immigrants try to keep up their traditional antipathies, but there are few Old World feuds that, if let alone, can resist the solvent atmosphere of America. Their children when they go to school call each other names and stretch their little necks trying to look down on one another. And when they grow up they go into partnership or intermarry. So scrapping and bargaining, quarreling and flirting, studying together and working together, they learn to know each other and become good Americans together.

No nation was ever before put to such a strain as ours in the Great War, for none ever contained so many representatives of the belligerent nationalities, yet none proved more stable and strong. Our national motto was not true when it was adopted, but it is now. At last the American people, regardless of racial diversity, can say with sincerity: United we stand.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Explain the allusion to "Topsy". 2. Why can an American citizen say, "I am the state"? 3. Why does the author say that our national motto (*e pluribus unum*) was not true when it was adopted?

THE ABILITY TO REASON, A NECESSARY QUALITY FOR CITIZENSHIP

ARTHUR T. HADLEY

We are getting ready to be intelligent citizens—men who can judge public affairs, do independent thinking on national problems, and lead the nation into right lines of policy. Democracy needs this sort of leaders even more than it needs doctors or engineers; and it finds them very scarce. It is a good thing for a nation to have skilled medical advisers and skillful engineering experts. But it is an even better thing to have the energies of the nation as a whole wisely directed. The health of the body politic is more important than the health of one man or a hundred men. The waste due to misguided legislation is ten times greater than the waste due to miscalculated force. It is more fundamentally essential to preserve the country from political dangers at home or abroad than from the physical dangers which beset individuals.

The source of these dangers to the body politic lies in the fact that most people in their political and social relations are guided by emotion rather than thinking, intuition rather than judgment. They alternate between unreasoning selfishness on the one hand and unreasoned benevolence on the other. The history of Greece and Rome and the cities of mediæval Europe show how this difficulty over and over again has wrecked democratic government and brought nations which were once free under foreign rule or domestic tyranny.

First, we must know how to find out facts; where to look for them, how to test them, how to judge the evidence for one statement or another in the face of our prepossessions. This is often a difficult task. We are always tempted to accept the statement which is easiest

to understand, instead of the one that is most scrupulously near the truth; to take our knowledge from the highly colored phrases of the novel or the newspaper, rather than from laborious investigation of our own. Our eye is so caught by the label, the headline, or the advertisement, that we feel no impulse to test the underlying reality. The bane of American work as a whole, both public and private, is the unwillingness of our people to take trouble to get things right.

But we must do something more. It is not enough for us or for the country to face facts truthfully. We must know the relative importance of different kinds of facts. The man who has facts at command, knows their relative values, and understands the art of stating them in proper order, is the guide whom the people crave. Men sometimes talk of the selfishness of the masses or of their lack of intellectual curiosity. The trouble is not so much selfishness as restricted vision; not lack of curiosity, but desire to gratify that curiosity too easily. The man whose study of language has taught him to avoid unnecessary words, and whose study of mathematics or of law has taught him to take his thoughts to pieces and put them together again until he has arranged them in the form of proof, goes out into the world equipped as a leader of men. His it is to lift them above their prejudices. His it is to help them to wisdom which the citizens must possess in order that a free commonwealth may remain free. His it is to develop the rational patriotism and rational religion on which permanent freedom must rest.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What is meant by "the ability to reason"?
2. What are the chief political dangers in any democracy?

AMERICANISM*

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

There are two or three things that Americanism means. In the first place it means that we shall give to our fellow-citizens, the same wide latitude as to his individual beliefs that we demand for ourselves; that, so long as a man does his work as a man should, we shall not inquire, we shall not hold for or against him in civic life, his method of paying homage to his Maker.

Now for another side of Americanism, the side of the work. Our democracy means that we have no privileged class, no class that is exempt from the duties or deprived of the privileges that are implied in the words "American citizenship." Now that principle has two sides to it, itself, for all of us would be likely to dwell continually upon one side, that all have equal rights. It is more important that we should dwell on the other side; that is, that we will have our duties and that the rights can not be kept unless the duties are performed.

The law of American life must be the law of work; not the law of idleness; not the law of self-indulgence or pleasure, merely the law of work. That may seem like a trite saying. Most true sayings are trite. It is a disgrace for any American not to do his duty, but it is a double, a triple disgrace for a man of means or a man of education not to do his duty. The only work worth doing is done by those men, those women, who learn not to shrink from difficulties, but to face them and overcome them. So that Americanism means work, means effort, means the constant unending strife with our conditions, which is not only the law of nature if the race is

*Extract from an address delivered at the Jewish Chautauqua, July 23, 1900.

to progress, but which is really the law of the highest happiness for us ourselves.

You have got to have the same interest in public affairs as in private affairs or you cannot keep this country what this country should be. You have got to have more than that—you have got to have courage. I don't care how good a man is, if he is timid, his value is limited. The timid will not amount to very much in the world. I want to see a good man ready to smite with the sword. I want to see him able to hold his own in active life against the force of evil. I want to see him war effectively for righteousness.

Of all the things we don't want to see is the tendency to divide into camps, on the one side all the nice, pleasant, refined people of high instincts, but no capacity to do work, and, on the other hand, men who have not got nice instincts at all, but who are not afraid. When you get that condition, you are preparing immeasurable disaster for the nation. You have got to combine decency and honesty with courage. But even that is not enough, for I don't care how brave, how honest a man is, if he is a natural-born fool he cannot be a success. He has got to have the saving grace of common sense. He has got to have the right kind of heart, he has got to be upright and decent, he has got to be brave, and he has got to have common sense. He has got to have intelligence, and if he has those, then he has in him the making of a first-class American citizen.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What are the "public affairs" in which we should take an interest? 2. What are some of the other ideals of Americanism? Is the construction, "You have got to have," in good form?

A MAN WITHOUT A COUNTRY

E. D. SHURTER*

What did Theodore Roosevelt mean when he said that there must be "no divided allegiance" in America? He certainly did not mean that one born in some other country should have no love for the land of his birth. He meant that when one comes to live in America, and takes advantage of the opportunities offered here, he owes America his first and sole allegiance. If he likes the conditions of life and the form of government of some other country better than he likes ours, plainly, he belongs to that country and should go there at once. All that America asks is that he shall choose some country, and then live in the country of his choice; with "no divided allegiance."

Beginning with the home, and extending to the community, the state, the nation, the current of our lives must flow from the well-spring of *loyalty*. If a man says, "I am a citizen of the world," the reply is: "Very well, but just as you must first be a good, loyal member of your own household before you can become a good member of your community, even so must you first be a good loyal citizen of some one nation before you can be a good citizen of the world; you must first of all be a good nationalist before you can qualify as a good internationalist."

The man who is an internationalist in the sense of disclaiming allegiance to any one country, or is a resident of one country and a supporter of another, is in reality a man without a country. And can you imagine a more pitiable plight than a man in this position? The words

*Adapted

of Philip Nolan, "the man without a country," should be burned into the mind and consciousness of every boy and girl in the United States.

"Youngster," Nolan said, "if you are ever tempted to say a word or to do a thing that shall put a bar between you and your family, your home, and your country, pray God in His mercy to take you that instant home to His own heaven. Stick by your family, boy; forget that you have a self, while you do everything for them. Think of your home, boy; write and send, and talk about it. Let it be nearer and nearer to your thought the farther you have to travel from it. And for your country, boy, and for her flag, never dream a dream but of serving her as she bids you, though the service carry you through a thousand hells. No matter what happens to you, no matter who flatters you or who abuses you, never let a night pass but you pray God to bless that flag. Remember boy, that behind all these men that you have to do with, behind officers, and government, and people even, there is the Country Herself, your Country, and that you belong to Her as you belong to your own mother. Stand by Her, boy, as you would stand by your mother."

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What further light is thrown upon the phrase, "no divided allegiance," by the selection on page 160? 2. Sketch the story of Philip Nolan, as recounted by Edward Everett Hale in his "Man Without a Country." What was the author's purpose in writing this story? Is it fact or fiction?

ANCESTRAL IDEALS*

HENRY VAN DYKE

America has followed her ancestral ideal of republican government with marvelous fidelity, and still more marvelous success. Without militarism she has made her power felt around the globe. Without colonies she has outstripped all colonial empires in the growth of her export trade. Without conquering vessels or annexing tributaries she has expanded her population from three million to one hundred million, and welcomed a score of races to her capacious bosom, not to subjugate them, but to transform them into Americans. Glory to the ideal of a new nation, "conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal!" Glory has come to it for a hundred years. Glory still waits for it. It is to-day the most potent and prosperous ideal in the whole world. All that this country needs is to be true to her own ideal, and so to lead mankind. But this last ideal which reaches forward into the long future—the ideal of national glory and grandeur—is it indeed ancestral? Did the fathers cherish it and dream of it?

There are those who tell us that their eyes were not opened to behold this vision. We are asked to believe that they were short-sighted in regard to the greatness of America; and therefore their counsels are inapplicable to the days of our prosperity. I do not believe it. The representative of Spain at Paris in 1783, Count Arondo, said: "This Federal Republic is born a pigmy. The day will come when it will be a giant, a colossus, formidable

*Extract from a speech delivered at the annual dinner of the New England Society of Philadelphia, December 22, 1898. Used by courtesy of the author.

even in these countries. Liberty and conscience, the facility for establishing a new population on immense lands, as well as the advantages of a new government, will draw artisans and farmers even from the great nations." That was a vision of jealousy and fear. Do you believe that the eyes of our ancestors were too blind to behold that vision in joy and hope? Nay, they saw it, and they saw also how it was to be obtained. Not on the old plan of the Roman Empire, annexation without incorporation, but on the new plan of the American Republic—liberation, population, education, assimilation.

Turn back to these noble words of the farewell address, in which the Father of Our Country said: "It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people guided by an exalted justice and benevolence." This is our ancestral ideal of national glory and grandeur. Not military conquest, but worldwide influence. Not colonies in both hemispheres, but friends, admirers, and imitators around the globe.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What Colonies has this country acquired since this speech was written? 2. How has America made her power felt around the globe?

THE AMERICAN SPIRIT*

JAMES CARDINAL GIBBONS

I claim that the American spirit is fundamentally a religious spirit. But, thank God, in this country, liberty

*Adapted from an article in *The Delineator*, July, 1918. Used by permission.

of conscience is respected, and the civil constitution holds over us the ægis of her protection without meddling in ecclesiastical affairs. "America," to quote Mr. Roosevelt, "this happy country of ours, where religion and liberty are natural allies." And so for our basic Americanism, religion.

Next, civic liberty and privilege. We are happily living under a government of constitutional freedom. Our citizens enjoy the largest measure of freedom that is compatible with law and order. They are justly impatient of arbitrary coercion and chafe under any undue restraint that might be imposed on their personal independence. This individualism is a healthy stimulus to legitimate activity and honorable emulation in the various walks of public and private life.

Surely of all people on the face of the earth the American citizen should take special delight in submitting to the legislation imposed upon him and in being loyal to his country and its institutions.

The immigrant who comes to this land must remember that he owes a debt of gratitude to this land which opens wide its doors to him, and places within easy reach what is to-day the greatest of civil privileges: American citizenship! He leaves a land where, as yet, he is debarred directly or indirectly from many things that his heart desires. He comes into the New World, and in five years he walks a king among men, clothed with the panoply of free citizenship, with the privilege of suffrage, active and passive, eligible to every office but the highest, from which, however, his children are not debarred. The very magnificence of this political generosity makes many foreigners forget that it is a boon pure and simple to which they have no right, and which may be curtailed or denied as easily as it has been lavished.

On this blessed soil of freedom is the opportunity, not to be found elsewhere, to cultivate every civic virtue: interest in all public problems, conscientious study of public issues, the sense of union for the common weal, unprejudiced devotion to the growth of the states, incorruptible exercise of the sacred right of the ballot, which is the holy fountain of our political life and well-being, and to poison or trifle with which is to cut at the root of our state. These are indeed the privileges of Americanism.

Next among qualities peculiar to the American spirit, I would name the dignity and the rights that are accorded to the American laboring class. The primeval curse attached to labor has been obliterated by the toilsome life of Jesus Christ. He has shed a halo around the workshop.

De Tocqueville could not pay a more just or more beautiful tribute of praise to the genius of our country than when he wrote that every honest occupation in the United States was honorable. The honest, industrious man is honorable among us whether he works with his hands or his brains, because he is an indispensable factor in the nation's progress.

As an evidence of the esteem in which the thrifty son of toil is held among us, we see from daily observation that the humblest vocations of life are no bar whatever to the highest preferment in the commonwealth, when talent and ability are allied to patient industry. Franklin was a printer. President Lincoln's youthful days were spent in wielding the ax and in handling the plow on his father's farm. President Johnson in his boyhood was apprenticed to a tailor. Grant was the son of a tanner, and Garfield once drove a canal boat.

In honoring and upholding labor, the nation strength-

ens its own hands as well as pays a tribute to worth. For a contented and happy working class is the best safeguard of the republic.

There are other attributes of our Americanism which I shall not attempt to define in detail. The people, imbued with the true American spirit, are gifted with a high order of intelligence. They are self-poised and deliberate. They are of industrious and temperate habits. They are frank, manly and ingenuous. They have a deep sense of justice and fair play. They are brave and generous, and they usually have the courage of their convictions.

Let us glory in the title of American citizen! It matters not whether this is the land of our birth or the land of our adoption. It is the land of our destiny! Here we intend to live and here we hope to die.

My countrymen will forgive me if I seem to yearn over this people, but I do so because I believe the American people to be precious in the sight of God and designed for a glorious future.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Who was Andrew Johnson? Garfield? Franklin?

PART FIVE
PRESENT-DAY PROBLEMS

FAITH IN AMERICA*

GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS

There is a fashion of scepticism of American principles, even among some Americans, but it is one of the oldest and worst fashions in our history. There is a despondency which fondly fancies that, in its beginning, the American republic moved proudly toward the future with all the splendid assurance of the Persian Xerxes descending on the shores of Greece; but that it sits to-day among shattered hopes, like Xerxes above his ships at Salamis. And when was this golden age? Was it when John Adams appealed from the baseness of his own time to the greater candor and patriotism of this? Was it when Fisher Ames mourned over lost America, like Rachel for her children, and would not be comforted? Was it when William Wirt said that he sought in vain for a man fit for the presidency or for great responsibility? Was it when Chancellor Livingston saw only a threatening future, because Congress was so feeble? Was this the golden age of these doubting sighs, this the region behind the north wind of these reproachful regrets?

Nay, this very scepticism is one of the foes that we must meet and conquer. Remember, fellow citizens, that the impulse of republican government, given a century

*From an oration delivered at the Centennial Celebration of Concord Fight, April 19, 1875. Copyrighted, 1894, by Harper and Brothers.

ago at the old North Bridge, has shaken every government in the world, but has been itself wholly unshaken by them. . . . And what cloud of doubt so dark hangs over us as that which lowered above the colonies when the troops of the king marched into Concord? With their faith and their will we shall win their victory. No royal governor, indeed, sits in yon stately capitol, no hostile fleet for many a year has vexed the waters of our coasts, nor is any army but our own ever likely to tread our soil. Not such are our enemies to-day. They do not come proudly stepping to the drum-beat, with bayonets flashing in the morning sun. But wherever party spirit shall strain the ancient guarantees of freedom; or bigotry and ignorance shall lay their fatal hands upon education; or the arrogance of caste shall strike at equal rights; or corruption shall poison the very springs of national life—there, minute-men of liberty, are your Lexington Green and Concord Bridge; and, as you love your country and your kind, and would have your children rise up and call you blessed, spare not the enemy! Over the hills, out of the earth, down from the clouds, pour in resistless might. Fire from every rock and tree, from door and window, from hearthstone and chamber; hang upon his flank and rear from noon to sunset, and so, through a land blazing with holy indignation, hurl the hordes of ignorance and corruption and injustice back, back in utter defeat and ruin.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Who are the historical characters referred to?
2. Have we to-day other domestic enemies not mentioned by the author?
3. The last paragraph is full of allusions to the battles of Lexington and Concord. Explain them.

PUBLIC SPEAKING IN THE*
COUNTRY DISTRICTS

ALBERT SHAW

There is an important agency that has played a great part in the historical development of our American democracy, and that must be definitely maintained and further developed for the essential service it has yet to render. This agency is what may best be termed the platform. The right of assembly and public discussion, like that of the freedom of the press, is part and parcel of the constitutional life of all English-speaking countries.

The platform as an institution has had its notable history in Great Britain, where it has long been recognized as a leading factor in the mechanism of political life, and of parliamentary and local government. It has often been said that England is governed by discussion; and the two established forms of discussion are the press and the platform, around both of which constitutional guarantees have been created.

We have come to be a nation of two dwellers by a very rapid process of industrial evolution. Relatively speaking, the country districts seem neglected and lonesome. It is more important, therefore, to sustain in the country districts the custom of assembly and public speech. Every rural neighborhood should have its auditorium associated with a consolidated school. The auditorium should be constantly used for instructive and entertaining lectures or political discussion, for promotion of improved agriculture and neighborhood life, for educa-

*From the *News Letter* published by the University of Virginia. Reprinted by permission.

tional "movies," and for social gatherings of the art of speaking.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What does Mr. Shaw mean by "the platform"?
2. How can public speaking improve agriculture?
3. What sort of "movies" should we aim to have?

GOVERNMENT BY PUBLIC OPINION*

E. D. SHURTER

An indispensable qualification for social service is, that a good citizen should aid in the formation and guidance of public opinion. And let us ever remember that if we are in reality a self-governing people, if we really have a government by the people, it is by that token, a government of public opinion. Public opinion, after all, is our real governor and legislature, our real congress and president. We have such laws as public opinion demands, and we are governed by such laws as public opinion chooses to enforce.

The morality of the greater number is the only resource by which liberty can live in a democracy. We must therefore have an alliance of our effort for the best and highest things—this is our duty as patriots and citizens. You start out with an idea that you firmly believe is for the good of your community, your state, or your nation. You may start alone. Presently you get another citizen thinking the same way. What you and he think is in the end more powerful than all the material forces of the universe, for what you and he and another and another think, is public opinion. It has been said that, "Whenever you meet a dozen earnest men pledged

*In part adapted from various sources.

to a new idea, you meet the beginning of a new revolution." This public opinion is not substantial, it is not palpable, it may not readily be translated into terms of money or power or vital force, but it crushes all these things before it. You may found your institutions, as has eloquently been said, upon injustice and wrong and oppression, but in the course of time the pulse beat of a true-hearted girl may wear them down.

And so this intangible thing we call public opinion crushes all things before it. When it rises sure and firm and strong, no material force on this earth can stop it. For a time it may be dammed and checked; for a day or a week or a decade it may be turned from its channel, yet money cannot hold it, arm cannot hold it, cunning cannot baffle it. For it is God moving among men. Thus he manifests himself in this earth. Through the centuries, amid the storm and stress of time, often muffled, often strangled, often incoherent, often inarticulate with anguish, but always in the end triumphant, the voice of the people is indeed the voice of God. And so, whether we like speech-making or not, let us not underrate the value and the influence of free and untrammelled public discussion. For just in proportion to the freedom of our institutions is the need of men in every community who can stand on their own feet and think, who believe in the right and fear not to speak their honest convictions, who stand outside of party and beyond the influence of the press, outside of the clamor of the mob or of the moment, and who are able and willing to tear a question open and let the light through it.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Give examples of the force of public opinion. 2. How can public opinion in your community be influenced to accomplish certain needed reforms?

AMERICAN CHARACTER*

BRANDER MATTHEWS

According to the theory of the conservation of energy, there ought to be about as much virtue in the world at one time as at another. According to the theory of the survival of the fittest, there ought to be a little more now than there was a century ago. We Americans to-day have our faults, and they are abundant enough and blatant enough, and foreigners take care that we shall not overlook them; but our ethical standard—however imperfectly we may attain to it—is higher than that of the Greeks under Pericles, of the Romans under Cæsar, of the English under Elizabeth. It is higher even than that of our forefathers who established our freedom, as those know best who have most carefully inquired into the inner history of the American Revolution. In nothing was our advance more striking than after the Revolution and after the Civil War. When we made our peace with the British the native Tories were proscribed, and thousands of loyalists left the United States to carry into Canada the indurated hatred of the exiled. But after Lee's surrender at Appomattox, no body of men, no single man indeed, was driven forth to live an alien for the rest of his days; even though a few might choose to go, none was compelled.

This change of conduct on the part of those who were victors in the struggle was evidence of an increasing sympathy. Not only is sectionalism disappearing, but with it is departing the feeling that really underlies it—the distrust of those who dwell elsewhere than where we do. This distrust is common all over Europe to-day.

*From *The American of the Future and Other Essays*. (Copyright, 1909, Charles Scribner's Sons.) Reprinted by permission.

Here in America it has yielded to a friendly neighborliness which makes the family from Portland, Maine, soon find itself at home in Portland, Oregon. It is getting hard for us to hate anybody—especially since we have disestablished the devil. We are good-natured and easy-going. Herbert Spencer even denounced this as our immediate danger, maintaining that we were too good-natured, too easy-going, too tolerant of evil; and he insisted that we needed to strengthen our wills to protest against wrong, to wrestle with it resolutely, and to overcome it before it is firmly rooted.

We are kindly and we are helpful; and we are fixed in the belief that somehow everything will work out all right in the long run. But nothing will work out all right unless we so make it work; and excessive optimism may be as corrupting to the fiber of the people as “the Sabbathless pursuit of fortune,” as Bacon termed it. Mr. James Bryce, has recently pointed out that the intelligent native American has—and by experience he is justified in having—a firm conviction that the majority of qualified voters are pretty sure to be right.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What was the position of the Greeks under Pericles? Of the Romans under Caesar? Of the English under Elizabeth?
2. Why is our ethical standard higher?

COÖPERATION WITH THE MAN LOWER DOWN*

FRANK TRUMBULL

The word Americanism may be a very inclusive term,

*Extract from a speech delivered before the New England Society, in the City of New York, December 22, 1916. Used by permission of the author.

but it involves two or three concrete things which I shall mention. First, free education, but we have so long ago adopted it that we have quit talking about it, except to boast. There are thousands of workmen in this country who cannot understand a command given in English. The learning of English diminishes misunderstandings not only between employers and employees, but in hundreds of other ways. We want them to learn English, not because it is the best language in the world, but because it is our currency of thought.

Second, we should have American standards of living. These people are usually segregated, and unless they are well housed the community and the State inevitably lose greatly in efficiency, and community health is endangered.

Third, we should fit them for becoming real citizens. It is to our interest in every way that having cast in their lot with us, they shall know more about our institutions and what a beneficial thing it is to become a citizen.

Thirteen million of our people are foreign born and ten million are negroes. Shall we be able to compete with the reorganized countries of Europe if we permit these twenty-three million people to be inefficient? The talk of the hour is "Efficiency! Efficiency!" But more than that we want not only forty-eight States under one flag, but we want one hundred million united people—united for everything that will make America the best place in the world to live in, as well as the best place to make money in; and a country loved and respected by all who dwell in it. It is a day for releasing great constructive forces—humanics as well as mechanics.

Not long ago I heard this story told in a most appealing way: one day a woman was sitting on the veranda of a hotel in Switzerland. She had a field glass in her hand and was looking upon a group of mountain climbers who

were climbing one of the most difficult peaks. Suddenly she shrieked aloud, dropped the glasses to the floor, and fell in a swoon. A gentleman ran quickly to her side, picked up the glasses, and looked upon the scene. He saw four men making a struggle to climb the mountain. One had driven the axe into the side of the mountain and was safely at the top. Beneath him were three others, one of whom was desperately clinging to the edge of a rock, the other two dangling in the air, when suddenly the rope gave way, parted between the top man and the three below, and the three men in turmoil and confusion fell thousands of feet into the deep ravine to death. That afternoon they brought in the bodies of the dead men. The next morning the man who was at the top came into the hotel, and when they saw him women and children moved away from him. At length he met a gentleman in the smoking-room and said to him, "No one has spoken to me. What is the matter?" The gentleman replied, "Excuse me, but if you want to know, we found that *the rope was cut*."

My friends, do not cut the rope that holds the man lower down.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Why may every illiterate person become a menace to our government? 2. Should we not assist the immigrant, for our own account if for no worthier motive, to better his condition of life? Why?

WORK OR DIE*

HUGH WILEY

In the complex organization which we call society we have lost sight of the simple business of life. We say that

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life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness are three inherent rights of the individual. Life is a good thing, but the fact of our being born into this world does not give us the right to life. The world is beautiful. The scheme of life is good, but we enjoy title to life only in so far as we pay the unit installments; only as we meet our obligations from day to day and from year to year until life is done. The one appropriate currency with which to pay for life is work. Man is capable of transforming the fuel of food into energy and work. We can buy the right to live with a proper daily expenditure of useful work. The individual who does not pay the price of life has no right to it.

Brains have respect for muscle and muscle has respect for brains. A man who spends his strength in useful work gets from his work something besides the silver of his daily wage. Work is enjoyable and beautiful, and men who have worked know this. Fatigue that follows effort is the reward that answers the question of the day: "What have I done to earn life?"

The United States is composed of parasites and producers. The people of a nation are all consumers. They must eat. In a community where all men are consumers and one-half of them are producers it follows that each producer is sustaining his own life and the life of one parasite.

Society is made up of men, women and children. Men and women must work. In the United States only a small percentage of men and women do work. When every man and every woman works the high cost of living, political disorder, strikes and all the phenomena of social unrest will be at an end. Work is the cure. It is the only cure.

The final rewards for work performed are delayed by a

hundred foolish afflictions which society suffers to-day. Most of these would disappear if men would work. Most of the ills which now affect the workers of a population would disappear if men who work would learn the real reward of effort. Not many laborers or mechanics or professional men carry with them the realization that their work is something more than a means of obtaining cash with which to buy the things essential to their lives. The man who works is bound by an obligation greater than his contract with his employer. He is bound by his debt for life received. Not many men realize this obligation. Until men discover that they must buy the right to live with the coin of sweat they will continue to side-step the obligation of delivering a day's work in return for their wages.

The first need in the government of the United States is a first-class business man for President and a group of assistants such as any first-class business man would surround himself with. The United States is a good place to live in, but a business administration could improve it a million per cent. The people of the United States have much to learn. Experience is a great teacher, but unfortunately experience dies with the individual. We persist in neglecting to take advantage of the knowledge which can be gained from other men's experiments and other men's mistakes. With our own hands we must pick up a live wire before we can appreciate the kick that can exist in unseen forces.

There is salvation in the fact that the moral instinct exists in every man. With it is an ambition for the good things of life. Work is the one agency through which these things may be enjoyed. Work will buy life and happiness.

On the day that all men sense the moral obligation

which demands that they shall pay in honest useful work the price of life they will know contentment. An appropriate expenditure of brain or muscle is the price of life. There is no honest alternative. Work or die.

THE AMERICAN MIND*

HENRY SEIDEL CANBY

The great Americans of the past have nearly all been conservative-liberals. Washington was a great republican; he was also essentially an aristocrat in social and economic relations, who kept slaves and did not believe in universal suffrage. Lincoln, politically was the greatest of English-speaking democrats, but he let the privileged classes exploit the workingman and the soldier, partly in order to win the war, chiefly because problems of wages and unearned increments and economic privilege generally did not enter into his scheme of democracy. Roosevelt fought a good fight for the square deal in public and private life, but hesitated and at last turned back when it became evident that a deal that was completely square meant the overturning of social life as we knew and loved it in America.

And these men we feel were right. Their duty was to make possible a good government and a stable society, and they worked not with theories only, but also with facts as they were. The Germans have argued that the first duty of the state is self-preservation, and that rights of individual men and other states may properly be crushed in order to preserve it. We have crushed the Germans and, one hopes, their philosophy. But no one doubts that it is a duty of society to preserve itself. No one believes that universal suffrage for all, negroes

*From the *Century Magazine*, July, 1919. Reprinted by permission of the author.

included, would have been advisable in Washington's day, when republicanism was still an experiment. No one believes, I fancy, that the minimum wage, the inheritance tax, and coöperative management should have had first place, or indeed any place, in the mind of Lincoln of 1863. Few suppose that Roosevelt as a socialist would have been as useful to his United States as Roosevelt the Progressive, with a back-throw toward the ideals of the aristocratic state; as Roosevelt the conservative-liberal.

Thus the American mind is worth troubling about; and if politically, socially, economically the spirit that we and the foreigners call American has become stagnant in its liberalism, it is time to awake. In liberalism inheres our vitality, our initiative, our strength. Its stagnation, its inertia, its blindness to the new waves of freedom sweeping upward from the masses and on in broken and muddy torrents through the world are poignant dangers. We must open eyes; we must change our ground; we must fight the evil in the new revolution, but welcome the good. Our own revolution lies before the deluge; it is no longer enough to go on; it is not now the sufficing document of a political philosophy. We must not stop with Washington and Lincoln. We must go on where the conservative Washington and the radical Lincoln would lead if they were our contemporaries. Radical-conservatism is good, and Toryism or radicalism have their uses; but conservative-liberalism, preserved, ~~desiccated museum liberalism~~, long continued in, is death to the minds that maintain it.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What liberal ideas have been advanced in recent years by Wm. J. Bryan, Theodore Roosevelt, Henry Ford, Louis F. Post?

THE SCHOLAR IN A REPUBLIC

WENDELL PHILLIPS

Gibbon says we have two educations, one from teachers, and the other we give ourselves. This last is the real and only education of the masses—one gotten from life, from affairs, from earning one's bread; necessity, the mother of invention; responsibility, that teaches prudence, and inspires respect for right.

Anacharsis went into the Archon's court of Athens, heard a case argued by the great men of that city, and saw the vote by five hundred men. Walking in the streets, someone asked him, "What do you think of Athenian liberty?" "I think," said he, "wise men argue cases, and fools decide them." Just what that timid scholar, two thousand years ago, said in the streets of Athens, that which calls itself scholarship here says to-day of popular agitation—that it lets wise men argue questions and fools decide them. God lent to Athens the largest intellects, and it flashes to-day the torch that gilds yet the mountain peaks of the Old World; while Egypt, the hunker conservative of antiquity, where nobody dared to differ from the priest or to be wiser than his grandfather; where men pretended to be alive, though swaddled in the graveclothes of creed and custom as close as their mummies were in linen—that Egypt is hid in the tomb it inhabited, and the intellect Athens has trained for us digs to-day those ashes to find out how buried and forgotten hunkerism lived and acted.

I urge on college-bred men that, as a class, they fail in republican duty when they allow others to lead in the agitation of the great social questions which stir and educate the age. Agitation is an old word with a new

meaning. Sir Robert Peel, the first English leader who felt himself its tool, defined it to be "marshalling the conscience of a nation to mould its laws." Its means are reason and argument—no appeal to arms. Wait patiently for the growth of public opinion. That secured, then every step taken is taken forever. An abuse once removed never reappears in history. The freer a nation becomes, the more utterly democratic in its form, the more need of this outside agitation. Parties and sects, laden with the burden of securing their own success, cannot afford to risk new ideas. "Predominant opinions," said Disraeli, "are the opinions of a class that is vanishing." The agitator must stand outside of organization, with no bread to earn, no candidate to elect, no party to save, no object but truth—ever ready to tear a question open and riddle it with light.

To be as good as our fathers we must be better. They silenced their fears and subdued their prejudices, inaugurating free speech and equality with no precedent on the file. Europe shouted "Madmen!" and gave us forty years for the shipwreck. With serene faith they persevered. Let us rise to their level.

Sit not, like the figure on our silver coin, looking ever backward.

"New occasions teach new duties;
Time makes ancient good uncouth;
They must upward still, and onward,
Who would keep abreast of Truth.
Lo! before us gleam her camp-fires!
We ourselves must Pilgrims be,
Launch our Mayflower, and steer boldly
Through the desperate winter sea,
Nor attempt the Future's portal
With the Past's blood-rusted key."

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Is not the word "gotten" obsolete? Consult your dictionary as to its use.
2. What is the meaning of "hunker"?
3. How long was slavery agitated in the United States before the Emancipation Proclamation was issued?

THE EDUCATED MAN AND THE
DEMOCRATIC IDEALS*

CHARLES E. HUGHES

It is of first importance that there should be sympathy with democratic ideals. I do not refer to the conventional attitude commonly assumed in American utterances and always taken on patriotic occasions. I mean the sincere love of democracy. As Montesquieu says: "A love of the republic in a democracy is a love of the democracy; as the latter is that of equality."

It would be difficult to find an association in which wealth, or family, or station are of less consequence, and in which a young man is appraised more nearly at his actual worth, than in an American college. Despite the increase of luxury in college living, the number of rich men's sons who frequent these institutions, and the amount of money lavishly and foolishly expended, our colleges are still wholesomely democratic. A young man who is decent, candid, and honorable in his dealings will not suffer because he is poor, or his parents are obscure, and the fact that he may earn his living in humble employment in order to pay for his education will not cost him the esteem of his fellows. He will be rated, as the rich man's son will be rated, at the worth of his character, judged by the standards of youth which

*From *Conditions of Progress in Democratic Government*, Yale University Press, 1910. Reprinted by permission.

maintain truth and fair dealing and will not tolerate cant or sham. This is so largely true that it may be treated as the rule, and regrettable departures from it as the exception.

But a larger sympathy and appreciation are needed. The young man who goes out into life favorably disposed toward those who have had much the same environment and opportunity may still be lacking in the broader sympathy which should embrace all his fellow countrymen. He may be tolerant and democratic with respect to those who, despite differences in birth and fortune, he may regard as kindred spirits, and yet in his relation to men at large, to the great majority of his fellow beings, be little better than a snob. Or despite the camaraderie of college intercourse he may have developed a cynical disposition or an intellectual aloofness, which while not marked enough to interfere with success in many vocations, or to disturb his conventional relations, largely disqualifies him from aiding his community as a public-spirited citizen. The primary object of education is to emancipate; to free from superstition, from the tyranny of worn-out notions, from the prejudices, large and small, which enslave the judgment. His study of history and of the institutions of his country has been to little purpose if the college man has not caught the vision of democracy and has not been joined by the troth of heart and conscience to the great human brotherhood which is working out its destiny in this land of opportunity.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Why do more poor boys go to our state universities than to the large eastern universities? 2. Who is Charles E. Hughes?

THE PILGRIMS' RELIGION AS A GUIDE FOR
TO-DAY*

GUSTAV A. CARSTENSEN

Guizot has said that democracy came into Europe in the little boat which brought St. Paul. Even so the charter framed in the cabin of the Mayflower for the government of the Pilgrim Colony has been the cornerstone of American liberty and the inspiration of liberalizing governments all over the world. The fathers are gone; but their children are "princes in all the earth." It is a commonplace of history that the basic principle of our government is that of the New England town-meeting; and it is just as true that the power behind that great Puritan movement which Carlyle called "the last great heroism of the world" was the Bible. The power which shattered the absolutism of the Stuarts was the power which struck Plymouth Rock and made it the American Horeb. Herein lay the inherent strength of the Pilgrim Fathers.

A world which is burdened with sin and groaning in misery will not be helped by any system which evaporates in sentiment or crystalizes in selfishness, or caters to human weaknesses. What we admire and need to emulate in the Pilgrim Fathers is their sturdy devotion and singleness of purpose which never encountered obstacles but to conquer them, and their unflinching loyalty to the truth as they understood it. No perilous voyage over a dreary waste of ocean, no struggle with cold and hunger and illness and death, no dangers of marauding savages confront us but we are beset with perils just as real and more insidious: the peril of self-

*From a sermon preached at Trinity Church, New York, on Sunday, December 21, 1919.

seeking; the peril of cowardly compromise; the peril of easy-going indifference; the peril of a blind optimism without reason and without objective which means complacent idleness.

The world is hungry for what real Christianity has to give and what it has a right to expect of us—the reality of human fellowship, the highest and best of human culture, the safest and sanest scheme of human living. That is the “Gospel of the Secular Life.” It does not guarantee protection against earthquake, fire and flood; it does not insure success in business, or social standing. It may not raise a crop or even fill a church. It does not promise immunity from hell fire, nor guarantee a blissful self-satisfying heaven. It makes no appeal to men absorbed in money grabbing amusements, politics, socialism, Bolshevism or anything which promises only material gain. The uncompromising cross looms up before men and summons them to self-surrender and sacrifice and service as it never has before. I invoke that spirit which your fathers’ bequeathed to you; the spirit of that soldier of Bennington who said, “Boys, we win this battle, or to-night Mollie Stark sleeps a widow.” I invoke the spirit of the old Quaker poet who fought to kill black slavery and when his earthly course was nearly done sat in his house at Danvers and wrote:

“And so beside the silent sea
I wait the muffled oar;
No harm from Him can come to me
On ocean or on shore.

“I know not where His islands lift
Their fronded palms in air,
I only know I cannot drift
Beyond His love and care.”

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Is the author of this selection as specific as he might be?
2. Does he not deal in "glittering generalities"?

THE INFLUENCE OF THE IMMIGRANT ON AMERICA*

WALTER EDWARD WEYL

We must not forget that these men and women who file through the narrow gates at Ellis Island, hopeful, confused, with bundles of misconceptions as heavy as the great sacks upon their backs—we must not forget that these simple, rough-handed people are the ancestors of our descendants, the fathers and mothers of our children.

So it has been from the beginning. For a century a swelling human stream has poured across the ocean, fleeing from poverty in Europe to a change in America. Englishman, Welshman, Scotchman, Irishman, German, Swede, Norwegian, Jew, Italian, Bohemian, Serb, Syrian, Hungarian, Pole, Greek—one race after another has knocked at our doors, been given admittance, has married us and begot our children. We could not have told by looking at them whether they were to be good or bad progenitors, for racially the cabin is not above the steerage, and dirt, like poverty and ignorance, is but skin-deep. A few years, and the stain of travel has left the immigrant's cheek; a few years, and he loses the odor of alien soils; a generation or two, and these outlanders are irrevocably our race, our nation, our stock.

That stock, a little over a century ago, was almost pure British. True, Albany was Dutch, and many of the signs in the Philadelphia streets were in the German language. Nevertheless, five-sixths of all the family names collected in 1790 by the census authorities were

*By permission of Mrs. Walter E. Weyl.

pure English, and over nine-tenths were British. Despite the presence of Germans, Dutch, French and Negroes, the American was essentially an Englishman once removed, an Englishman stuffed with English traditions, prejudices, and stubbornnesses, reading English books, speaking English dialects, practising English law and English evasions of the law, and hating England with a truly English hatred. In all but a political sense America was still one of "His Majesty's dominions beyond the sea." Even after immigration poured in upon us, the English stock was strong enough to impress upon the immigrating races its language, laws, and customs. Nevertheless, the incoming millions profoundly altered our racial structure. To-day over thirty-two million Americans are either foreign-born or of foreign parentage. No longer an Anglo-Saxon cousin, America has become the most composite of nations.

America to-day is in transition. We have moved rapidly from one industrial world to another, and this progress has been aided and stimulated by immigration. The psychological change, however, which should have kept pace with this industrial transition, has been slower and less complete. It has been retarded by the very rapidity of our immigration and by the tremendous educational tasks which that influx placed upon us. The immigrant is a challenge to our highest idealism, but the task of Americanizing the extra millions of newcomers has hindered progress in the task of democratizing America.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Is there a settlement of foreign-born people near your home?
2. Is your attitude toward them friendly and helpful?
3. What do you believe to be your duty in regard to them?

CAN DEMOCRACY BE ORGANIZED?*

EDWIN A. ALDERMAN

In order to organize an autocracy, the rulers ordain that it shall get in order and provide the means to bring about that end. To organize a democracy, we must organize its soul, and give it power to create its own ideals. It is primarily a peace organization, and that is proof that it is the forward movement of the human soul and not the movement of scientific reaction. It is through a severe mental training in our schools and a return to the conception of public duty which guided the sword and uplifted the heart of the Founder of the Republic that we shall find strength to organize the democracy of the future, revolutionized by science and by urban life.

The right to vote implies the duty to vote right; the right to legislate, the duty to legislate justly; the right to judge about foreign policy, the duty to fight if necessary; the right to come to college, the duty to carry one's self handsomely at college. Our youth must be taught to use their senses, to reason simply and correctly, from exact knowledge thus brought to them to attain to sincerity in thought and judgment through work and patience. In our home and civic life, we need some moral equivalent for the training which somehow issues out of war—the glory of self-sacrifice, obedience to just authority, contempt of ease, and a realization that through thoughtful, collective effort great results will be obtained. A great spiritual glory will come to these European nations through their sorrow and striving which will express itself in great poems and great litera-

*North Carolina Literary and Historical Society, November 9, 1915. Reprinted by permission of the author.

ture. They are preparing new shrines at which mankind will worship. Let us take care that prosperity is not our sole national endowment. War asks of men self-denials and sacrifice for ideals. Peace must somehow do the same. Autocracy orders men to forget self for an over-self called the state. Democracy must inspire men to forget self for a still higher thing called humanity.

There stands upon the steps of the Sub-Treasury building, in Wall Street, the bronze figure of an old Virginia country gentleman looking out with his honest eyes upon the sea of hurrying, gain-getting men. This statue is a remarkable allegory, for in his grave, thoughtful person, Washington embodies that form of public spirit, that balance of character, that union of force and justice that re-defines democracy. Out of his lips seems to issue the great creed which is the core of democratic society, and around which this finer organization shall be solidly built. Power rests on fitness to rule. Fitness to rule rests on trained minds and spirits. You can trust men if you will train them. The object of power is the public good. The ultimate judgment of mankind in the mass is a fairly good judgment.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Explain "The right to vote implies the duty to vote right."
2. Where is Wall Street? 3. What self-denials and sacrifices for ideals must peace demand of us?

AN IMMIGRANT WHO BECAME ONE OF OUR GREATEST BUILDERS*

Thirty-years ago Louis J. Horowitz, an immigrant from an old world to the land of his new desire, gazed at

*By permission of *The Literary Digest*.

the sky-line of New York from the deck of a ship. To-day he may look upon what he has added to that sky-line, for he is the builder of the Equitable and the Woolworth buildings and of many others which, though high, do not reach so far up into the clouds. Mr. Horowitz, running true to form, was nearly sou-less and soupless when he reached American shores; but he had that grit, push, and determination which are often called American, but which are often, as in this case, imported products. The first thing he did was to find a job, that being a condition precedent to getting something to eat. He worked first as an errand boy, afterward as a parcel-wrapper, then as a stock boy, and then as a shoe salesman. Selling shoes gave him the idea that he might be able to sell real estate, and at the age of twenty-three, five years after he had landed, this Russian-Polish boy embarked for himself as a real estate broker in Brooklyn. In a short time he was financing the erection of an apartment house, and soon afterward he became president of a Brooklyn brokerage firm which he himself incorporated. While he was engaged on various real estate operations, the young man attracted the attention of the Thompson-Starrett Company, who offered him the post of assistant to the president. In less than a year the firm had undertaken important construction work, running into the millions. Everybody knows the Woolworth and Equitable buildings, but few know the man who built them.

When asked for some word to the younger generation that would help it to succeed in business, this genuinely self-made man replied: "Don't worry about success, it will come as surely as night follows day, to quote Shakespeare, if you attend to your own work conscientiously. Most young men just work sufficiently to earn

money so that they can play around. Play should be an incident, not the aim of life."

How Thoreau would have appreciated, and what a glowing account he could have penned of this "master builder!" You remember Thoreau tells how he awoke one night and what satisfaction it was to his soul to remember that the day before he had driven one nail straight. What would he have said of the huge Woolworth and Equitable buildings, or of the little man that gave them form?

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What is a "self-made" man? 2. Who was Thoreau?
3. Name men in American history who were "self-made."

LABOR AND THE COMMON WELFARE*

SAMUEL GOMPERS

The trade unions are the legitimate outgrowth of modern society and industrial conditions. They are not the creation of any man's brain. They are organizations of necessity. They were born of the necessity of the workers to protect and defend themselves from encroachment, injustice and wrong. They are the organizations of the working class, for the working class, by the working class; grappling with economic and social problems as they arise, dealing with them in a practical manner to the end that a solution commensurate with the interests of all may be attained.

From hand labor in the home to machine and factory labor witnessed the transition from the trade guilds to

*Taken by permission from *Labor and the Common Welfare*, by Samuel Gompers, edited by Hayes Robbins, copyrighted by E. P. Dutton & Co., New York.

the trade unions; with the concentration of wealth and the development of industry, the growth from the local to the national and the international unions, and the closer affiliation of all in a broad and comprehensive federation.

There are some who, dissatisfied with what they term the slow progress of the labor movement, would have us hasten it by what they lead themselves to believe is a shorter route. No intelligent workman who has passed years of his life in the study of the labor problem, expects to wake up any fine morning to find the hopes of these years realized over night, and the world on the flood-tide of the millennium. With the knowledge that the past tells us of the slow progress of the ages, of trial and travail, mistakes and doubts yet unsolved; with the history of the working class bedewed with the tears of a thousand generations and tinged with the life-blood of numberless martyrs, the trade unionist is not likely to stake his future on the fond chance of the many millions turning philosophers in the twinkling of an eye.

The trade unions not only discuss economic and social problems, but deal with them in a practical fashion calculated to bring about better conditions of life to-day, and thus fit the workers for the greater struggles for amelioration and emancipation yet to come.

Trade unionism is not narrow. The locomotive engine is not "narrow" because it is not fitted to run on highways and by-ways and waterways as it is for railways, nor is the steamship "narrow" because it cannot be made to run on land. But steam, the motive power, can be so applied that it is effective on both land and water. An engine is adapted to a special use; steam in its applications is universal.

Similarly, a trade union is not a machine fitted to

the work of directly affecting all the civic, social, and political changes necessary in society. But it first of all teaches the working classes the power of combination. Thenceforward it disciplines them, leads them to perform tasks that are possible, and permits the members of any of its affiliated bodies to attempt any form of social experiment which does not imperil the organization as a whole. The spirit of combination has the immediate effects of self-confidence for the democratic elements in the unions, of growth in the loyalty of workingman for workingman, of constant progressive achievement not confined to restricted limits. It is therefore a motive power continuously and variously applicable as the masses move forward and upward in their individual and collective development.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What statement in the first paragraph reminds you of an oft-quoted phrase used by Lincoln in his Gettysburg Address?
2. What are the main arguments for and against labor unions?
3. What evidence do you find in this selection that Mr. Gompers represents the more conservative element among labor leaders?

A NEW HEAVEN*

LEWIS B. AVERY

I noted an Americanization lesson in home economics the other day. It was a neighborhood in which the parents were largely of foreign birth and where homes needed new and better ideals of home-keeping. We had installed no neighborhood school there. How should the real lesson in home-keeping be gotten over to the girls? The teacher was equal to the need. Miss

*From *School and Society* of October 11, 1919.

Brown's little home was selected—a four-room cottage of most modest but immaculate furnishing. She was asked to help in giving this lesson in home-keeping and entered into the plan with joy. A committee of some ten girls was selected to visit and report to the class on home-keeping standards. The selection of the committee was so made as to include some of those who would most need the visit. The sights in this modest home were new to some of these girls. Finished floors and rugs and carpets were examined and discussed with intense interest and costs ascertained. The plainest and cleanest of curtains were on the windows and were carefully inspected as to plan of construction and material. One girl was delighted to have the chance to push the electric light button for the first time and see the lights flash out. A number saw their first vacuum cleaner and operated it. One confided her verdict to her teacher in a whisper—"When I grow up and get married I am going to have a bedroom just like this one." It was impossible to keep the report till the class got together to hear it. It had been given in a dozen enthusiastic conversations before its final formal submission. No equipment set up as a demonstration by the school could so enter the lives of these girls as this little home that has become their ideal, because seemingly at some time attainable. Said one girl, "If I should work and save for four years after I finish school I could furnish a house like this." This was after the cost of things had been discussed.

In the ideals of the children lie any hope we may cherish for a better to-morrow. Moreover, the child is the gateway to the homes and the hearts of the parents the world over. The child is one of the great avenues to the Americanization of parents, and as such

is used too little by teachers. The teacher too generally feels relieved if she may draw the line at the school door, but a group of great-souled teachers is responding to the call for Americanization, teachers of talent and power, devoted to this great end—the redemption of our foreign-speaking peoples, the assimilation of our new Americans—the uniting of the America of the past with the America that is to be.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. How can the boys in your school be taught a similar lesson in Americanization? 2. Why was Miss Brown's home selected for the lesson?

CITIZENS OF TO-MORROW*

E. A. HANLEY

What is the spirit of true Americanism? It is the spirit of the Pilgrims in New England, of the Baptists in Rhode Island, of the Quakers in Pennsylvania, of the Catholic settlers in Maryland, and the Huguenots in South Carolina. It is the spirit of Washington and Lincoln. America stands for more than a dollar sign. She represents the fairest ideals and some of the noblest sacrifices of any nation on the face of the earth. She represents opportunity for God and man. It was by a flash of genius that the gifted authoress Mary Antin, in telling the story of her coming to America and her experience here, called it "The Promised Land." All that Judea was to the Jews and the Jews to the world, America may be to us and we may be to our fellow-men. What we need supremely and what we must have to

*From *Proceedings Indiana State Teachers' Association*, October, 1916.

save us from the peril of our material greatness and to fulfill our mission to the world, is justice and brotherhood. With public spirit and coöperation ruling in civic and industrial relations, America may symbolize her mission to the world by the Goddess of Liberty holding aloft her torch to guide pilgrim exiles from the ends of the earth. True Americanism is nothing less than the spirit of love and service working in the heart of this great nation. This can be done indirectly through the teaching of history, but it would seem that definite instruction must be given in the nature of society and the process of government. The fundamentals of economies, sanitation and political science are not beyond the comprehension of the youth in our high schools. If we are to make our public education a training school for citizenship, the fundamental principles of these subjects could not wholly be omitted.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Who were the Huguenots? 2. What is the dollar sign? How was it derived? 3. What is the Goddess of Liberty?

THE WORKING OF THE AMERICAN DEMOCRACY*

CHARLES W. ELIOT

The people of this country have had three supreme questions to settle within the last hundred and thirty years: first, the question of independence of Great Britain; secondly, the question of forming a firm federal union; and thirdly, the question of maintaining that union at whatever cost of blood and treasure. In the

*From *American Contributions to Civilization*. Copyright, 1907, The Century Company. Reprinted by permission.

decision of these questions, four generations of men took active part. The first two questions were settled by a population mainly English; but when the third was decided, the foreign admixture was already considerable. That graver or more far-reaching political problems could be presented to any people, it is impossible to imagine. Everybody can now see that in each case the only wise decision was arrived at by the multitude, in spite of difficulties and dangers which many contemporary statesmen and publicists of our own and other lands thought insuperable. It is quite the fashion to laud to the skies the second of these three great achievements of the American democracy; but the creation of the federal union, regarded as a wise determination of a multitude of voters, was certainly not more remarkable than the other two. No government—tyranny or oligarchy, despotic or constitutional—could possibly have made wiser decisions or executed them more resolutely, as the event has proved in each of the three cases mentioned.

It is said that democracy is fighting against the best determined and most peremptory of biological laws, namely, the law of heredity, with which law the social structure of monarchical and oligarchical states is in strict conformity. This criticism fails to recognize the distinction between artificial privileges transmissible without regard to inherited virtues or powers, and inheritable virtues or powers transmissible without regard to hereditary privileges. Artificial privileges will be abolished by a democracy; natural, inheritable virtues or powers are as surely transmissible under a democracy as under any other form of government. Families can be made just as enduring in a democratic as in an oligarchic state, if family permanence be desired

and aimed at. The desire for the continuity of vigorous families, and for the reproduction of beauty, genius, nobility of character is universal. "From fairest creatures we desire increase" is the commonest of sentiments. The American multitude will not take the children of distinguished persons on trust; but it is delighted when an able man has an abler son, or a lovely mother a lovelier daughter. That a democracy does not prescribe the close inter-marriage which characterizes a strict aristocracy, so-called, is physically not a disadvantage, but a great advantage for the freer society. The French nobility and the English House of Lords furnish good evidence that aristocracies do not succeed in perpetuating select types of intellect or of character.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What is an oligarchy?
2. What governments to-day are despotic?
3. What is the House of Lords?

THE HIGHER PATRIOTISM*

JANE ADDAMS

There is one moral pit into which we continually fall, a sort of hidden pit which the devil digs for the feet of the righteous. It is that we keep on in one way because we have begun that way, and do not have presence of mind enough to change when that path is no longer the right one. The traditional way, the historic way, is the way the Romans used when they went forward into Europe and levied taxes and brought back to Rome all

*From an address before the Thirtieth International Peace Conference, Chicago, 1904. Used by courtesy of the author.

their treasure and all their finest blood. That is the easiest way.

But if we have the spirit of moral adventure, if we believe as we pretend to believe in America, in democracy then we shall be ready to take another course, even if it be much more difficult. People can no longer say that we do not believe in democracy in America, but they can say that we no longer trust democracy. Almost every state in Europe has established forts in Africa or Asia or some other place. But here in America is the place for experiment. Let us say, "We will trust the people although they are of a different color, although they are of a different tradition from ours. Perhaps we will be able through our very confidence, to nourish them into another type of government, not Anglo-Saxon. Perhaps we shall be able to prove that some things that are not Anglo-Saxon are of great value, of great beauty. Let us not be like the men in commercial life, who say it is easy enough to go into a place after it has been swept clear by warships. You can force anything on natives when they have once been intimidated. But we must proceed in a different way, we must do our work on the hardest plane. We have a higher ideal than the old one which has been incorporated in the rule of first gaining government control by force and making things safe. I can imagine that most young men would say that they will not go into these new regions until a warship has gone first. The man with the courage would be the man who would prefer to go without the warships, just as the brave young man walks the street of a city without arms, while the coward carries brass knuckles and a revolver in his hip pocket.

Let us see that this more dispassionate idea of self-government, this more modern idea of human life, begins

with a few groups of people here and there. Let us declare that just as an individual shows signs of decay when he loses his power of self-mortification, his power of self-surrender, when he begins to be cautious, when he begins to say, "I cannot do this thing because it may injure my future," so it is with a nation. A nation ought to be able, in some way, to arrive at a proper conception of patriotism. The word "economic patriotism" will, I trust in future years come to have a meaning to us. We cannot afford to be too careful of our individual life. We must not forget that there is something in the old idea that the world is a theatre for noble action, and that nation which yearns for noble action will be the nation of the future, as the self-forgetting young person is sure to come out ahead of the person who is cautious at an early age.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Why is America the place for experiment?
2. What is meant by the term "Anglo-Saxon"?

MOB LAW

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

In a speech portraying vividly the evils arising from mob law, Lincoln asks:

"How shall we fortify against it?" The answer is simple. Let every American, every lover of liberty, every well-wisher to his posterity swear by the blood of the Revolution never to violate in the least particular the laws of the country, and never to tolerate their violation by others. As the patriots of seventy-six did to the support of the Declaration of Independence, so to the

support of the Constitution and laws let every American pledge his life, his property, and his sacred honor—let every man remember that to violate the law is to trample on the blood of his father. Let reverence for the laws be breathed by every American mother to the lisping babe that prattles on her lap; let it be taught in schools, in seminaries, and in colleges; let it be written in primers, spelling books, and in almanacs; let it be preached from the pulpit, proclaimed in legislative halls, and enforced in courts of justice. And, in short, let it become the political religion of the nation; and let the old and the young, the rich and the poor, the grave and the gay of all sexes and tongues and colors and conditions, sacrifice unceasingly upon its altars. While even a state of feeling such as this shall universally or even very generally prevail throughout the nation, vain will be every effort, and fruitless every attempt, to subvert our national freedom.

When I so pressingly urge a strict observance of all the laws, let me not be understood as saying there are no bad laws, or that grievances may not arise for the redress of which no legal provisions have been made. I mean to say no such thing. But I do mean to say that although bad laws, if they exist, should be repealed as soon as possible, still, while they continue in force, for the sake of example they should be religiously observed. So also in unprovided cases. If such arise, let proper legal provisions be made for them with the least possible delay, but till then let them, if not too intolerable, be borne with.

There is no grievance that is a fit object of redress by mob law. In any case that may arise, as, for instance, the promulgation of abolitionism, one of two positions is necessarily true—that is, the thing is right within

itself, and therefore deserves the protection of all law and all good citizens, or it is wrong and therefore proper to be prohibited by legal enactments; and in neither case is the interposition of mob law either necessary, justifiable, or excusable.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Do you agree with Lincoln's argument?
2. Cite examples to show the evil consequences of mob law.

THE POWER OF A MINORITY IN EFFECTING REFORMS

JOHN B. GOUGH

There is not a social, political, or religious privilege we enjoy to-day that was not bought for us by the blood and tears and patient sufferings of the minority. It is the minority that have vindicated humanity in every struggle. It is a minority that have stood in the van of every moral conflict and achieved all that is noble in the history of the world. The chosen heroes of this earth have been those who have stepped out in advance of the public sentiment of their age and stood, like glorious iconoclasts, to break down the Dagon of old abuses worshipped by their fathers. They were persecuted—the very men they worked for hurled at them contumely and scorn, yet they stood firmly at their post—and if you read the history of this world, you will find that one generation has ever been busy in gathering up the scattered ashes of the martyred heroes of the past to deposit them in the golden urn of a nation's history.

Look at Scotland, where they are erecting monuments—to whom? to the Covenanters. Ah, they were in a minority. Read their history, if you can, without the

blood tingling to the tips of your fingers. Those were in a minority that, through blood, and tears, and bootings, and scourgings—dying the waters with their blood, and staining the heather with their gore—fought the glorious battle of religious freedom.

Minority! If a man stands up for the right, though the right be on the scaffold, while the wrong sits in the seat of government, if he stand for the right, though he eat, with the right and truth, a wretched crust; though he walk with obloquy and scorn in the bylanes and streets, while the falsehood and wrong ruffle the avenues with silken attire, let him remember that wherever the right and truth are there are always “troops of beautiful, bright angels” gathered around him, and God Himself stands within the dim future keeping watch over His own. If a man stands for the right and the truth, though every man’s finger be pointed at him, though every woman’s lip be curled at him in scorn, he stands in a majority; for God and good angels are with him, and greater are they that are for him than all they that be against him.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What do we mean by a “minority”? 2. Who were the Covenanters? 3. What is an iconoclast? 4. Who was Dagon?

THE TYRANNY OF THE MAJORITY*

FRANK O. LOWDEN

While it is true that ours is a government by the majority, it is something vastly more. When our fore-

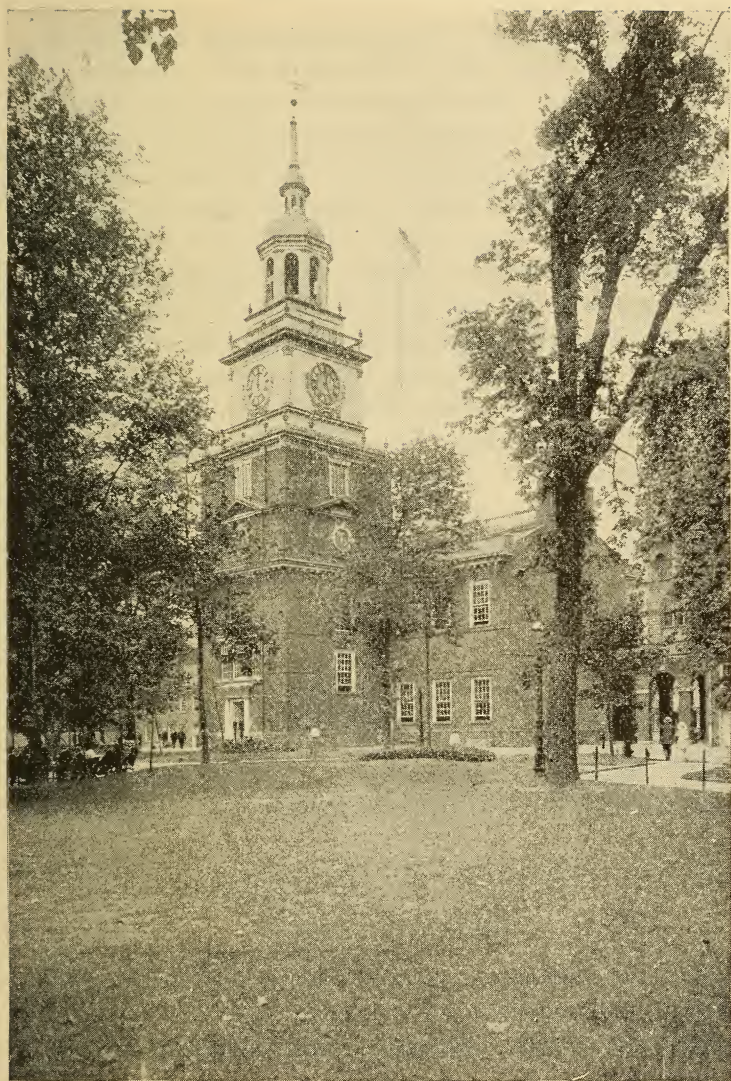
*Adapted from a speech before the New England Society, December, 1919.

fathers met in Independence Hall in Philadelphia, to frame the Constitution they were familiar with the lessons of history. They knew that republics had risen and fallen throughout the centuries because of the tyranny practiced by the majority in those republics, and so they said there are some rights so sacred that they must be placed forever beyond the power of even the largest majority. So the liberty of the individual and those incalculable rights which we denominate in our Bill of Rights were made the basis of our government.

Why, my friends, tyranny is just as odious to the American citizen whether it is practiced by a crowned monarch or whether it is practiced by a mob. Justice and righteousness were made the cornerstone of our government, and not the whim, the passing whim, of any majority, no matter how large. That is the thing which distinguishes the American Republic from all the republics of the past. That is the thing which has made us great and prosperous, and this is the thing which has made us an example to all the liberty loving people of all the world.

I wonder if we realize just how much we mean as a people, not only to ourselves, but to all the world. I wonder if we realize what the force of our example has been. I wonder if we understand that this government has been the inspiration of every enlightened statesman in the world upon every measure looking to an enlargement of human liberty.

America has been a solace to the patriot dying in other lands, because, though he has fallen, his failing vision beholds as recompensing hope for his sacrifice, the flag of America, and he dies content in the faith bestowed by that symbol, that one day man shall be free throughout the earth.



INDEPENDENCE HALL

It has been said so often and it is everlastingly true, that America is the best and the last hope of mankind, and if we should fail, which God forbid, where in all the world may the broken spirit find refuge? Where beneath the shining heavens will there be found a haven for those who seek a land of liberty, a land of righteousness, a land of law?

We will not fail! We cannot fail if we do our duty, but the time has passed when we can remain silent regarding these great fundamentals of government and permit the enemies of social order everywhere to occupy the center of the stage. The time has come when we must take issue with those who, infatuated with chaotic dreams, are seeking to undermine the bulwarks of government; when we can no longer refrain from exercising and proclaiming the truth—truth as virile to-day as it was a hundred years ago, that “eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.”

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Do you believe in government by representation, in government by the majority? 2. Should not the rights of the minority, nevertheless, be represented? 3. Read “Party Spirit and Good Government,” by Jefferson in this volume.

A MESSAGE TO GARCIA*

ELBERT HUBBARD

When war broke out between Spain and the United States, it was very necessary to communicate quickly with the leader of the Insurgents. Garcia was somewhere in the mountain fastnesses of Cuba—no one knew where. No mail or telegraph message could reach him.

*By permission of The Roycrofters.

The president must secure his coöperation, and quickly.

What to do?

Some one said to the president, "There's a fellow by the name of Rowan will find Garcia for you, if anybody can."

Rowan was sent for and given a letter to be delivered to Garcia. How "the fellow by the name of Rowan" took the letter, sealed it up in an oilskin pouch, strapped it over his heart, in four days landed by night off the coast of Cuba from an open boat, disappeared into the jungle, and in three weeks came out on the other side of the island, having traversed a hostile country on foot, and delivered his letter to Garcia—are things I have no special desire now to tell in detail.

The point I wish to make is this: McKinley gave Rowan a letter to be delivered to Garcia; Rowan took the letter and did not ask, "Where is he at?" By the Eternal! there is a man whose form should be cast in deathless bronze and that statue placed in every college of the land. It is not book-learning young men need, not instruction about this and that, but a stiffening of the vertebræ which will cause them to be loyal to a trust, to act promptly, concentrate their energies: do the thing—"Carry a message to Garcia!"

General Garcia is now dead, but there are other Garcias. No man, who has endeavored to carry out an enterprise where many hands were needed, but has been well-nigh appalled at times by the imbecility of the average man—the inability or unwillingness to concentrate on a thing and do it. And this incapacity for independent action, this moral stupidity, this infirmity of the will, this unwillingness to cheerfully catch hold and lift, are things that put pure Socialism so far into

the future. If men will not act for themselves, what will they do when the benefit of their efforts is for all?

My heart goes out to the man who does his work when the "boss" is away, as well as when he is at home. And the man who, when given a letter for Garcia, quietly takes the missive, without asking any idiotic questions, and with no lurking intention of chucking it into the nearest sewer, or of doing aught else but deliver it, never gets "laid off," nor has to go on a strike for higher wages. Civilization is one long, anxious search for just such individuals. Anything such a man asks shall be granted; his kind is so rare that no employer can afford to let him go. He is wanted in every city, town, and village—in every office, shop, store, and factory. The world cries out for such; he is needed, and needed badly—the man who can carry a message to Garcia.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Point out a flaw in Mr. Hubbard's argument in the next to the last paragraph. 2. Are not government directed institutions, as for instance the post-office, as efficient as private businesses? 3. What is your own observation as to the need for such men as the author pleads?

FREE SPEECH

THEODORE TILTON

Free speech is not merely a spark from an eloquent orator's glowing tongue, even though his utterance has power to kindle men's passions or melt their hearts. Free speech is an eloquence above eloquence. It is an oratory of its own, and not every orator is its apostle.

For many years a Carmelite monk touched the souls

of men with the consolation of faith; and Paris, listening, said: "This is eloquence." Then, in that trial hour of his history, this same preacher, against the impending and dread anathema of Rome, exclaimed: "I will not enter the pulpit in chains!" And the world said: "Hark! This is more than eloquence—it is Free Speech." Yes; eloquence is one thing and free speech is another. Open Macaulay's history. Lord Halifax was the chief silver tongue among a whole generation of English statesmen; but though he woke the ringing echoes of many a parliament, and though wherever he went he carried a full mouth of fine English, yet never, in all his public career, did he utter as much free speech as John Hampden let loose in a single sentence, when he said: "I will not pay twenty-one shillings and sixpence ship money."

Edward Everett leaves many speeches; Patrick Henry few. But the great word painter, who busied himself with painting the white lily of Washington's fame, never caught that greater language of free speech that burned upon the tongue of him who knew how to say: "Give me liberty or give me Death."

Free speech is like the angel that delivered Saint Peter from prison. Its mission is to rescue from captivity some divinely inspired truth or principle, which unjust men have locked in dungeons or bound in chains. For thirty years the free speech of this country was consecrated to one sublime idea: an idea graven on the bell of Independence, which says: "Proclaim liberty throughout the land, to all the inhabitants thereof." After thirty years' debate on human liberty, this idea is like Ophelia's rosemary: it is for remembrance; and it calls to mind the champions of free speech in New England. They are the choice master spirits of the age. Some of them have been hissed; others hailed; all shall be revered.

As the legend runs, Saint Hubert died and was buried. A green branch lying on his breast was buried with him; and when, at the end of a hundred years, his grave was opened, the good man's body had dissolved into dust, but the fair branch had kept its perennial green. So the advocates of free speech shall die and their laurels be buried with them. But when the next generation, wise, just, and impartial, shall make inquiry for the heroes, the prophets, and princely souls of this present age, long after their bones are ashes their laurels shall abide in imperishable green.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What is the difference between eloquence and free speech? 2. Who was the Carmelite monk? What did Macaulay write besides history? 3. Who is Ophelia?

THE CONSERVATION OF PUBLIC SPEECH*

At a public dinner some weeks ago five speakers were scheduled. It was agreed that each would speak for twenty minutes—a hundred minutes of oratory, all that any patient audience ought to be called upon to stand. The first man spoke twenty-two minutes. The second man spoke twenty-five. The third man rambled along for an hour and forty-four minutes!

The speaker has an unfair advantage over a writer. Any reader can, at any moment, decide that a thing is not worth reading, and move on. But no man rises in the middle of a public address, jams on his hat and stamps down the aisle. We are held by a certain con-

*By permission of Bruce Barton, the author of the editorial "If There Were Only a Tax on Talk" in the *Red Book*, May, 1920.

vention of courtesy; and nine speakers out of ten presume upon that fact.

Only once in a blue moon does a man arise and without a palaver, drive right to the point, making his statement in a few crisp words and sitting down before we are ready to have him stop. Such a one leaves us gasping with relief and admiration: we would, with the slightest encouragement, shout for him for president. He glistens in our memory; and we mention his name with a certain awe when the names of speakers are told.

Brevity is so popular a virtue that I cannot understand why more speakers do not cultivate it. It is one of the keys to immortality.

Two men spoke at Gettysburg on the same afternoon during the Civil War. One man was named Everett, the leading orator of his day; and he made a typically "great" oration. How many in this audience has ever heard it referred to, or could repeat a single line?

The other speaker read from a slip of paper less than three hundred words. And Lincoln's Gettysburg address will live forever.

Greeley used to say that the way to write a good editorial was to write it to the best of your ability, then cut it in two in the middle and print the last half.

When a reporter complained to Dana that he could not possibly cover a certain story in six hundred words, Dana sent him to the Bible:

"The whole story of the creation of the world is told in less than six hundred!" he exclaimed.

Everything is taxed these days except talk; and no tax could be more popular from the standpoint of the patient consumer. The tax should be graded, like the income tax. Let speeches of five minutes or under be exempt; from five- to ten-minute speeches, ten per cent; ten to

fifteen minutes, fifteen per cent; over thirty minutes, sixty per cent, with double taxes on speeches in Congress. Only by such rigorous treatment will the spoken word regain a position of respect, and silence receive the honor that is its due.

There is one historical character who has fascinated me. His name was Enoch; the honor conferred upon him has been enjoyed by no other; yet his whole biography is written in less than twenty words. "And Enoch walked with God; and he was not; For God took him."

So far as we know, he was the only man ever selected by the Almighty as a walking companion. And there is every indication that he was a man of very few words.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Who was Everett? Dana? Greeley? 2. In what book of the Bible is Enoch mentioned? Why should a speech be as brief as possible?

THE TRUE AMERICAN—A CONSCIENTIOUS MAN*

FRANKLIN HENRY GIDDINGS

The perfect citizen demanded by our own age and by our own nation can be characterized in a single phrase. The American who is worthy to be so called, the patriot on whom his country may depend in any hour of peril, the voter who will neither take the scoundrel's bribe nor follow the lead of any fool—he is exactly and fully described when we say that he is a conscientious man.

*From *Democracy and Empire*. Copyright, 1900, The Macmillan Company. Reprinted by permission.

For such a man is, first of all, everything for which the word "man" stands in its truest emphasis. He is a virile, a personal force, an organism overflowing with splendid power, alert, fearless, able to carry to perfect fulfilment any undertaking preserving in his disposition and habits the best traditions of a pioneer manhood of those Americans of an earlier time who asked little and did much, who made homes and careers for themselves. He demands not too much of society or of his government. He does not expect to be provided for. He does not ask what ready-made places in the government service or elsewhere he may slip into to enjoy through life with little bother or anxiety. Rather does he explore, invent, and create opportunities for himself and for others. It is a melancholy thing when numbers of educated men go looking for "jobs," or stand waiting for opportunities to drift their way. The educated man has already had opportunity, and the world rightly expects him to show powers of initiative and leadership. He has no right to be a mere imitator of others; and when he is content to be such, there is something radically wrong either with him or with the college that has trained him.

In the second place, the true American is a conscientious man. He feels as a vital truth that no one liveth to himself. When he has provided for his own, he does not think that he has accomplished the whole duty of man. He remembers that, although he has demanded little of society, he has in reality received much. Education, legal protection, the unnumbered benefits flowing from the inventions, the sacrifices, and the patriotism of past generations, he has shared. These benefactions he wishes to repay, and he realizes that most of them he must pay for through the activities of good citizenship. And especially does he realize that no man can pay these

debts by merely living justly in private life and kindly within the circle of his immediate family and personal friends. There is no more wretched sophistry than that which excuses unprincipled conduct in politics, on the ground that the wrong-doer has always been a good husband and father, and an honorable man in his private affairs. No nation can endure which draws fine distinctions between public and private morality. There is only one kind of honor, there is only one recognized brand of common honesty. A man who, to serve his party, becomes a liar and a thief, *is* a liar and a thief, through and through, in every fibre of his being, though he never told a falsehood to his wife or robbed an orphan niece of her inheritance.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What is sophistry? 2. Is there any distinction between public and private morality? 3. Why does Professor Giddings speak of honesty as *common* honesty?

AMERICA, A WORLD POWER

ARCHBISHOP JOHN IRELAND

To do great things, to meet fitly great responsibilities, a nation like a person, must be conscious of its dignity and its power. The consciousness of what she is and what she may be has come to America. She knows that she is a great nation. To take its proper place among the others of the earth a nation must be known, as she is, to those nations. The world to-day admires and respects America. The young giant of the West, heretofore neglected and almost despised in his remoteness and isolation, is now moving as becomes his stature. The world sees what he is and pictures what he will be. All

this does not happen by accident. An all-ruling Providence directs the movements of humanity.

To-day we proclaim a new order of things. America is too great to be isolated from the world around her and beyond her. She is a world power, to whom no world-interest is alien, whose voice reaches afar; whose spirit travels across seas and mountain ranges to most distant continents and islands; and with America goes far and wide what America in her grandest ideal represents—democracy and liberty, a government of the people, by the people, for the people. This is American more than American territory, or American shipping, or American soldiery. Where this grandest ideal of American life is not held supreme, America has not reached complete self-mastery; where this ideal is supreme America reigns. The vital significance of America's triumphs is not understood unless by those triumphs is understood the triumph of democracy and liberty.

That at times wonderful things come through war we must admit, but that they come through war and not through methods of peaceful justice, we must ever regret. When they do come through war their beauty and grandeur are dimmed by the memory of the sufferings and carnage, which were their price. We say in defense of war that its purpose was justice, but is it worthy of Christian civilization that there is no other way to justice than war, that nations are forced to stoop to the methods of animals and the savage? Time was when individuals gave battle to each other in the name of justice; it was the time of social barbarism. Tribunals have since taken to themselves the administration of justice, and how much better is it for the happiness and progress of mankind!

It is force or chance that decides the battle. Justice

herself is not heard. The decision of justice is what it was before the battle, the judgment of one party. Must we not hope that with the widening influence of reason and of religion among men, the day is approaching when justice shall be enthroned upon a great international tribunal, before which nations shall bow, demanding from it justice and peace?

It was Wellington who said, "Take my word for it, if you had seen but one day of war you would pray to Almighty God that you might never see such a thing again." It was Napoleon who said, "The sight of a battlefield after the fight is enough to inspire princes with a love of peace and a horror of war."

When shall humanity rise to such heights of reason and of religion that war shall be impossible, and stories of battlefields but the saddening echoes of primitive ages of the race?

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What important things have come to America through war?
2. Could these have been achieved through peace?
3. Who was Wellington?

EDUCATED MEN AND POLITICS*

GROVER CLEVELAND

In a speech at the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Princeton University, President Cleveland said:

"The disposition of our people is such that while they may be inclined to distrust those who only on rare occasions come among them from a seclusion savoring of assumed superiority, they readily listen to those who

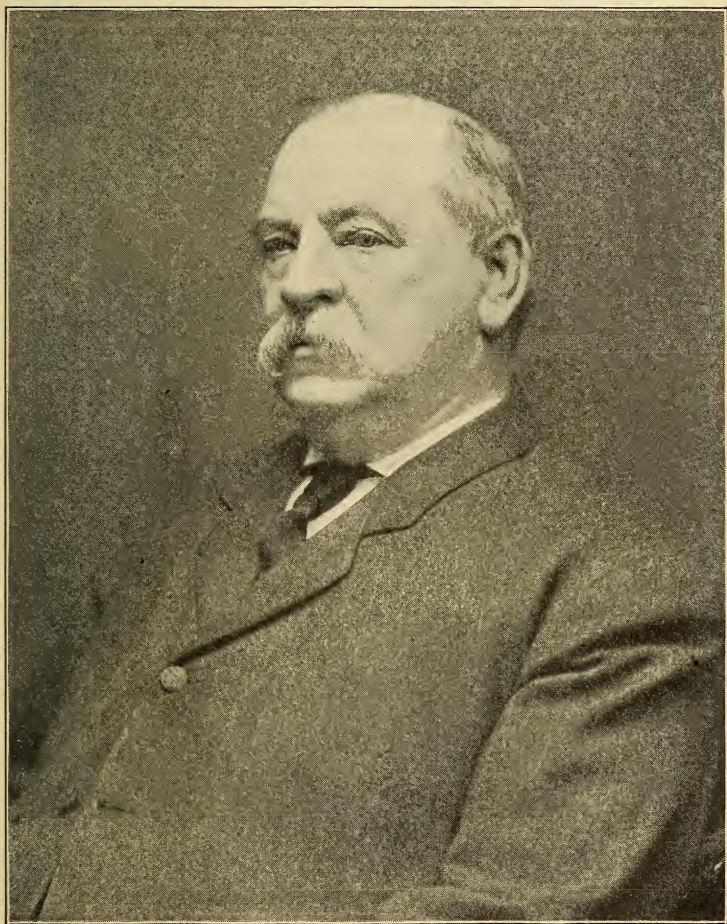
*By courtesy of Frances F. Cleveland Preston.

exhibit a real fellowship and a friendly and habitual interest in all that concerns the common welfare. Such a condition of intimacy would, I believe, not only improve the general political atmosphere, but would vastly increase the influence of our universities and colleges in their efforts to prevent popular delusions or correct them before they reach an acute and dangerous stage.

"I am certain, therefore, that a more constant and active participation in political affairs on the part of our men of education would be of the greatest possible value to our country. It is exceedingly unfortunate that politics should be regarded in any quarter as an unclean thing, to be avoided by those claiming to be educated or respectable. It would be strange indeed if anything related to the administration of our government or the welfare of our nation should be essentially degrading. I believe it is not a superstitious sentiment that leads to the conviction that God has watched over our national life from its beginning. Who will say that things worthy of God's regard and fostering care are unworthy of the touch of the wisest and best of men?

"I would have those sent out by our universities and colleges not only the counselors of their fellow-countrymen, but the tribunes of the people—fully appreciating every condition that presses upon their daily life, sympathetic in every outward situation, quick and earnest in every effort to advance their happiness and welfare, and prompt and sturdy in the defence of all their rights.

"I have but imperfectly expressed the thoughts to which I have not been able to deny utterance on an occasion so full of glad significance and so pervaded by the atmosphere of patriotic aspiration. Born of these surroundings, the hope cannot be vain that the time is at hand when all our countrymen will more deeply appre-



GROVER CLEVELAND

ciate the blessings of American citizenship, when their disinterested love of their government will be quickened, when fanaticism and passion shall be banished from the fields of politics, and when all our people, discarding every difference of condition or opportunity, shall be seen under the banner of American brotherhood, marching steadily and unfalteringly on toward the bright heights of our national destiny."

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What has been the most important factor improving the general political atmosphere since 1890? 2. Who was Grover Cleveland?

COMMON SENSE*

IRVING BACHELLER

There are two kinds of sense in men—Common and Preferred, plain and fancy. The common has become the great asset of mankind; the preferred its great liability. Our forefathers had large holdings of the common, certain kings and their favorites of the preferred. The preferred represented an immense bulk of inherited superiority. It always drew dividends whether the common got anything or not. The preferred holders ran the plant and insisted that they held a first mortgage on it. When they tried to foreclose with military power to back them some of our forefathers got out.

Now if the last three years have taught us anything it is this: The superman is going to be unsupered. Considering the high cost of upkeep and continuous adula-

*From a speech before the New England Society of New York City, December, 1917.

tion he does not pay. He is in the nature of a needless tax upon human life and security. His mistakes even, to use no harsher word, have slaughtered more human beings than there are in the world. The born gentleman and professional aristocrat, with a hot air receiver on his name, who lives in a tower of inherited superiority and looks down at life through hazy distance with a telescope has and can have no common sense. His disposition is above reproach; he is a brave soldier; he knows the habits of the grouse and the stag; he can give an admirable dinner; he is acquainted with the history and principles of international law; he can obey orders, but when international law becomes international anarchy and the orders are worthless he is not big enough to disobey them and find the way of common sense through an emergency. He has not that intimate knowledge of human nature which comes only of a long and close contact with human beings. Without that knowledge he will know no more of what is in the other fellow's mind and the bluff that covers it, in a critical clash of wits, than a baby sucking its bottle in a perambulator. He fails, and the cost of his failure no man can estimate. He stands, discredited. As a public servant, he is going into disuse and his going vindicates, at last, the judgment of our forefathers regarding like holders of sense preferred. It is a long step toward democracy and the security of the world.

My friends, be of good cheer. The God of our Fathers has not been Kaisered or Krupped or hurried in the least.

The shouting and the tumult dies,
The captains and the kings depart,
Still stands Thine ancient sacrifice,
The humble and the contrite heart.
Oh, God of Hosts, be with *us* yet,
Lest *we* forget—lest *we* forget.

Lest we forget that the spirit of man has been lifted up out of the mud and dust of the battle lines, out of the body tortured with pain and weariness and vermin, out of the close companionship of the dead into high association on the bloody altar of liberty and sacrifice.

Lest we forget the high spirit of our own boys and our duty to put our house in order and make it a fit place for them to live in when they shall have returned to it from battlefields, swept, as a soldier has written, by the cleansing winds of God.

PRIVATE GODS THE WORST ENEMIES OF DEMOCRACY*

IRVING BACHELLER

It had been going on almost a quarter of a century in France, England, Italy, Germany and America. Suddenly the king of all the kings appeared.

He was richer than most of them. He had more power than all of them put together. He had grown out of the same roots of idleness, conceit and self-indulgence. He had seventy million employees—think of that! His enjoyments were as private as those of an octopus. He had his own private army and navy, his own churches and colleges. He trained a corps of private historians and philosophers, he bribed priests and suborned prophets with his money, and frightened honest men into silence with his power. Thus he began to teach his seventy million employees that might was right.

By and by William decided that he would have the earth for his own private world—a kind of private

*Adapted from an article in *Everybody's Magazine*, March, 1920. Used by permission of the author.

yacht sailing the infinite deep with every one thrown overboard or hustled into the fo'castle save those who wanted him for captain. Human conceit and selfishness had come to their logical and prodigious climax in this man. We hated him and all that he stood for, but let us not forget that he was the consummation of the tendencies of modern life, of its greed and selfishness—that he was the perfect flower of all the private god-holders. The last rung in the ladder of conceit and self-indulgence had lifted him above the crowd and the spirit of democracy.

For long he had been sowing the seed of that hatred which we feel. Then came the years of reaping in vindication of the one God who, it would seem, will have no other gods before Him; then came the bloody years against whose darkness we now read the shining legend: "Thou shalt not forget the law." Out of the silence of twenty million graves the blood of the slain cries out to the living: "Thou shalt not frown upon thy neighbor or live apart in ignorance of his needs or misuse him or seek to cry him down with your degeneracy and turn his heart into a den of leopards."

Now are we not face to face with the great lesson of the war? Every man who builds a private god and lives with little care for his neighbors and regards his misbehavior as his own business is a little William and a peril to the world.

Civilization is founded on the intelligence and virtues of the common folk. We must build up and protect these sacred things or democracy will go down the path of darkness and ruin. Those who stand in high places, crowned with success, are the leaders and exemplars of the crowd—keepers of the great treasure.

Now, too, we are face to face with the fundamental

ideal of American democracy. It is no new discovery. It is very old and yet the divinity that dwells in it groweth not old nor can it be slain in battles. It is nothing more nor less than the love of men which leads to education and respect for justice and good-will and honor in all and for all.

I would like to see a legend to this effect on every study wall in the land:

"Remember, oh, young man, in the days of your youth, remember that there is one thing vastly greater than any individual can hope to be. It is the spirit of man endowed with the wisdom of the innumerable dead and expressing itself in the civil and moral law. The degree of a man's respect for that law has been and ever will be the test of his mental soundness. Remember, too, that while it is a pleasant thing to have power and riches, this world has never seen so hard a master."

CLEAN POLITICS*

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

To have clean politics, you have got to have the bulk of the community interested in a common sense way in getting them. If you get together and ask for reform as if it was a concrete substance like cake, you are not going to get it. If you think you have performed your duty by coming together once in a public hall about three weeks before election and advocating something that you know perfectly well it is impossible to get, you are going to be fooled. You have got to work and you have got to work practically; and you have got to

*Adapted from an address before the Chamber of Commerce, Syracuse, New York, February 17, 1899.

remember that to be practical does not mean to be foul. A man must strive continually to make things a little better; put things on a little higher plane. But he has got to remember the instruments with which he works; he has got to remember the men with whom he serves.

In the first place, he cannot do anything if he doesn't work as an American. You meet a certain number of good people who will tell you continually how much better things are done abroad than here. Well, I doubt if they are right, but I don't care if they are. You have got to deal with what we have got here, and you cannot do anything if you do not work as an American. You have got to work in sympathy with the people around you.

In the next place you have got to feel as an American in other ways. You have got to have ingrained the genuine democracy, the genuine republicanism of our institutions, of our form of government and habits. We cannot accomplish reform by the aid of merchant and manufacturer and business man alone. We have got to get reform by working for the eternal principles of right, shoulder to shoulder, with all who believe in those principles, so that the mechanic and the manufacturer, the farmer and the hired man, the banker, the clerk and the artisan will stand shoulder to shoulder to strive for the same purpose, for the same ideal.

I ask you then to strive for clean politics, not by professing your devotion to the cause on one night or another night of the year, but by taking more active, steady interest in bettering our politics. I ask you to strive for them, not by refusing to recognize conditions as they are, but by recognizing them and then trying to make them better; not to delude yourself into the belief that you need not strive to better matters. Remember that

if you do not strive to make things a little higher you had better get out of politics. If you are only content to keep step with the mass of your people round about, why then you do not count one way or the other.

I ask you to work for decent politics, to work for clean politics, to work in practical ways, not promise more than you can perform, but holding ever before you, that if you wish to see this Republic continue a free and great Republic and if you wish to see America take her proper place among the nations of the earth, you must make up your minds to the fact that you can see it only when each American remains true to the steadfast idea of honesty, of courage, of manliness in civic no less than in social life.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Does Roosevelt use "got" correctly in his first sentence?
2. Does his use of "got" throughout this selection add force to his style? Purists would call his use of "got" in several of his sentences ungrammatical. Less exacting stylists would term them idiomatic. Consult your dictionaries and grammars with reference to the use and meaning of "got."
3. Purists would insist on the use of "were" for "was" in the second sentence. Why? "Were" is less forceful than "was" because it is subjunctive, and this mode of the verb is rapidly disappearing from our language.

AMERICANIZATION, WHAT IS IT?

DON D. LESCOHIER

Americanization in the United States, and Canadianization in Canada, differ fundamentally in their spirit, method, and purpose from the efforts of Germany to Germanize Poland, Schleswig-Holstein, and Alsace-Lorraine; of Austria to Austrianize the Czechs and Croats; and of Turkey to suppress the nationalism of the

Armenians. The Central Powers tried to crush the national cultures and customs of peoples over whom, they had acquired power by force of arms. They continually subjected them to the efforts of conquerors who sought to suppress the language and traditions that had obtained in the acquired territories, and to compel the use of the language, government, and culture of the conqueror.

Americanization has nothing in common with such efforts as these. It is an effort to assist the alien among us to understand, appreciate, and partake of the best in American life and thought. It is an effort to provide facilities that will enable him to become an integral part of America and its life. It is a movement to help him share the privileges and benefits that a democracy offers to its people, and to fit him for his responsibilities as a citizen in a democratic commonwealth. It aims to help him know our national life; to help him make our traditions, heroes, and ideals his; to inspire in him a love for America and what it stands for; to win his heart to the things we love.

But Americanization is more than this. It is as necessary for Americans to understand the peoples who have come to them from foreign lands as for these people to become acquainted with America. Every people whose feet have pressed our soil has brought to us traditions, customs, capacities, ideals, and personal qualities which are of inestimable value to America. Each race or nationality, when it first came to our shores, had to start at the bottom of the economic ladder. Each one's capacity *was undervalued by the American during the early years of its immigration to America*, because it had to rely principally upon common labor for a livelihood

while it was learning our language and customs and fitting itself into our national life. The indifference and hardly-disguised contempt which a large number of Americans felt toward the Italian or the Slav during the twenty-five years from 1890 to the outbreak of the war was experienced in earlier years by the Irishman, and in many parts of the country, by the German, Scandinavian, and Belgian. It is as necessary to help the American understand the newcomer and appreciate the contribution which he will make to our national life as to help the immigrant understand the American.

There is another point which Americans must be taught to remember. Every alien who comes to America comes here *because he believes that America is a better place to live than his homeland*. He comes here hopefully, expectantly, eagerly. He comes here in a receptive mood. The only reason that alien propaganda has been able to retain a hold on *part* of the immigrants has been that we have failed to provide them with proper educational, industrial, and social opportunities to become a real part of our life. They have not found us responsive, and their enthusiasm has been chilled. They have concluded that we did not care about them. Americanization must teach the American to value the people who have come to us, and cause him to assist the alien to enter into the privileges and duties of America's adopted sons.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. In what western state are two languages spoken in the legislature, making interpreters necessary for legislators who cannot speak a word of the English language? Is this a wholesome condition of affairs? (N. B. The state herein referred to is New Mexico.)

THE DUTY OF CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP*

T. DEWITT TALMADGE

Ephesus was upside down. The manufacturers of silver boxes for holding heathen images had collected their laborers together to discuss the behavior of one Paul, who had been in public places assaulting image worship, and consequently very much damaging their business. There was great excitement in the city. People stood in knots along the streets, violently gesticulating and calling one another hard names. Some of the people favored the policy of the silversmiths; others the policy of Paul. Finally they called a convention—"for conventions have been the panacea of evil in all ages." When they assembled they all wanted the floor, and all wanted to talk at once. Some wanted to denounce, some to resolve. At last the convention rose in a body, all shouting together, till some were red in the face and sore in the throat: "Great is Diana of the Ephesians; Great is Diana of the Ephesians!" Well, the whole scene reminds me of the excitement we witness at the autumnal elections. While the goddess Diana has lost her worshippers, our American people want to set up a god in place of it, and call it political party. While there are true men, Christian men, standing in both political parties, who go into the elections resolved to serve their city, their state, their country, in the best possible way, yet in the vast majority it is a question between the peas and the oats. One party cries: "Great is Diana of the Ephesians!" and the other cries: "Great is Diana of the Ephesians!" when, in truth, both are crying, if they

*See Acts XIX:21-41

were but honest enough to admit it: "Great is my pocketbook."

What is the duty of Christian citizenship. If the Norwegian boasts of his home of rocks; and the Siberian is happy in his land of perpetual snow; and if the Roman thought the muddy Tiber was the favored river of Heaven; and the Chinese pities everybody born out of the Flowery Kingdom, shall not we, in this land of glorious liberty, have some thought and love for country. There is a power higher than the ballot box, the gubernatorial chair or the president's house. To preserve the institutions of our country we must recognize this power in our politics. See how men make every effort to clamber into higher positions, but are cast down. God opposes them. Every man, every nation that proved false to Divine expectation, down it went. God said to Bourbon, "Remodel France and establish equity." It would not do it. Down it went. God said to the house of Stuart: "Make the people of England happy." It would not do it. Down it went. He said to the house of Hapsburg: "Reform Austria and set the prisoners free." It would not do it. Down it went. He says to men now: "Reform abuses, enlighten the people, make peace and justice to reign." They don't do it, and they tumble. How many wise men will go to the polls, high with hope, and be sent back to their firesides. God can spare them. If He could spare Washington before free government was tested, Howard while tens of thousands of dungeons had been unvisited, and Wilberforce before the chains had dropped from millions of slaves, then Heaven can spare another man. The man who, for party, forsakes righteousness, goes down; and the battalions of God march over him.

SCHOOL ACTIVITIES AND
PUBLIC SERVICE*

WILLIAM MCANDREW

Many high schools maintain general organizations and special clubs—glee clubs, athletic teams, orchestras, and dramatic societies. Is membership in these capable of developing consideration for others? Are there any schoolboys who are too selfish to make the reasonable sacrifices necessary to pay their regular periodic dues for the support of such societies? Does it not seem as though a glee club, a dramatic club, or an athletic team might be justified as affording exercise in adding to the happiness of a large company of spectators? High school organizations quite generally get as far as that. They awaken an individual to do something for a larger interest than one's own. Critics of high schools urge us to go further than this. They say that we make a great ado about cultivating class spirit and school spirit, but with no definite object except class spirit or school spirit. It evaporates in class yells or school songs or in the wearing of colors or pins. It makes what is sometimes called the "rah-rah boy."

Some would-be philosopher asked Socrates to describe his idea of "the good."

"Good for what?" asked Socrates.

"Oh, I don't mean it that way. I mean the abstract idea of the good."

"I know what is good for a cold," said Socrates, "and good for a sore foot; but if you mean good for nothing in particular, I neither know nor care to know of any such thing."

*From an article in *The Outlook*, April 14, 1920. Used by permission.

A school that uses its glee clubs, its orchestra, and other such organizations regularly and often for the actual good of some interest wider than the school; an organization that gives concerts for the benefit of a city hospital, or a flower guild, or a National Child Labor Committee, or any one of the numerous general welfare agencies which are all about us, is training Americans for public welfare, is it not? What public service wider than the advantage to itself has the individual school done?

During the war school boys and girls rendered personal service for the general welfare. The majority of thinking citizens now realize that this is the best kind of fitting for citizenship. The old idea of school as a training for life later on is being replaced by the proposal that school should be life itself. We are living now. We are Americans now. You who are in school should not put off American action until after you leave school; but you should form the habit of thinking and acting public-mindedly now, while you are being supported by the public. You should give while you are receiving. Those who conduct your school provide that you shall salute your country's flag, sing patriotic songs, and learn patriotic quotations. This is good. When a schoolboy writes a patriotic oration, he exhorts his hearers to be real patriots. This is good. But if these things end in exhorting others or in mere words, it is lip service. How much is it worth?

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Is the "rah-rah boy" the predominant type in your school?
2. How can your school activities be used for community service?

THE IMMIGRANTS—OURSELVES*

FRED C. BUTLER

We hear much to-day about Americanization but there seems to be a great deal of confusion regarding it. Some advocate driving out of the country all who fail to become Americanized within a short time. Others insist we must make them stop talking in any language but English.

In all this confusion of counsels I am often reminded of the Irishman who was asked by a stranger how to reach a certain nearby town which was almost inaccessible. The Irishman scratched his head for a minute and finally said: "If I was you I wouldn't start from here."

Before we can reach Americanization we must know just what we mean by the term. It is a very simple thing. May I explain my conception of it in the following way?

America is almost unique among the nations. It is one of the few countries without a native population. All the people in America are of foreign parentage save only the Indians. The only difference between the various people is the length of time they or their families have lived here. Some trace their arrival to the first trip of the Mayflower and others to the last trip of the Mauretania.

We are all of us foreign born or of foreign parentage. We all came to this new land to secure a fuller measure of life—greater political or religious freedom; greater opportunity for mental or physical advancement, greater rewards for our efforts.

*By permission of the *General Federation Magazine, Inc.*

From the very first America became a thing apart, a new idea in this matter of life. The physical dangers into which the first settlers were thrust developed a peculiar initiative; engendered a common courage, a resourcefulness that met new conditions without fear or hesitation. The dangers and the vastness of the empire drove the few inhabitants together for mutual help and protection. Governments were instituted, rough, uncouth, but just. Men were all equals. The great opportunities provided ample field for the ambitions of all, encouraging harmony. The common danger kept men together, encouraging organization.

Perhaps no better mould could be conceived in which to cast a race. For two hundred years this process went on. As the dangers of the primeval were conquered in one zone, a new tide of hardy pioneers moved westward to meet and overcome new obstacles. In such a field a new race was bred. Small wonder that it differed from all the other races of earth from which it sprang. New ideas of human brotherhood; theories of government; visions of the rights of men, were the natural fruits of such a soil. So gradually there came into being that which we call the American ideal. Who shall define it? As well try to define truth, purity, justice. Any definition however broad would serve only to limit it.

As this ideal began to take form, men from all over the world were attracted to it. As it was threatened from time to time, men from nations everywhere came to its defense. The soil of America was sanctified by the bravest blood of England, France, Poland, Italy, yea, of Germany; of many nations.

The story of America spread through the world. The hearts of oppressed men everywhere beat with new

life as they heard of this strange country where men's liberties were limited only by their rights.

America itself may be likened to one of its own communities. The first vanguard of pioneers chose a site and cleared an opening in the forest. Log houses grew up. Men established trades to serve their fellows. The church and the school came at once, created and supported by the labor of all. As newcomers chose to cast their lots with the new community the pioneers turned out to help them erect their homes. The addition of a new home was marked by a house warming that was the ceremony which welcomed the newcomer into full community fellowship. A helping hand was extended to the new family until they could sow and reap a harvest. Seed was loaned them. The community's scant hoard of flour and meal was theirs until they could, in turn, contribute to its stock. The older residents showed their new friends where the best fish were caught, where the purest water flowed. Their children were welcomed into the schools.

This process was true Americanization. It was the assimilation of the newcomer into the brotherhood. Each new candidate brought trades, arts, knowledge, customs which enriched the whole. The freedom of the prairie, the simple and unaffected life, the love of liberty, these were the screens which sifted out the worthy from the dross, so that there grew up an ideal which was fair and just and noble.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Does this account of past events apply to conditions to-day?
2. How does the changed character of the newer immigrants affect the problem of assimilation?

THE AMERICANIZATION PROBLEM*

FREDERIC SIEDENBURG

The story of America is not told in the story of the Pilgrim Fathers; it is not told by the battles of Yorktown or Gettysburg or the Argonne; it is not told in the statesmanship of our Jeffersons or in the poetry of our Bryants or the philosophy of our Brownsons, or even in the inventions of our Edisons. These are but isolated expressions of our spirit, our yearnings and our achievements of higher things; these have been made possible and have only come to pass because since the dawn of our nation thirty-five million souls have sought our shores to build here their firesides and their altars, and to cast their fortunes with the fortunes of free America.

To-day for the first time in our history Americans are asked to Americanize themselves and to change their narrow attitude toward their foreign-born neighbors. For the first time Americans are becoming aware that they have in their midst thirteen millions of foreign-born human beings who will be assets or liabilities in proportion as the native-born appreciate or neglect them.

The practical programs of Americanization insist on campaigns of publicity, on the teaching of English and citizenship, of factory-schools, and of a wider use of public agencies and libraries. To this end the school, the settlement house, and the church are invited to do their share; and well they may, for the work is urgent, and these are obviously the first steps in the program. They are good as far as they go; but if we look into the matter more closely, we find that they are but palliatives

*From an article in *The Rotarian* for June, 1920. With permission of the author.

or the second best thing, and that the real remedy must be sought in something more fundamental.

If we are serious and really wish to make our foreign born real Americans, let us throw aside our national sham, our economic and our social sham and try to make America what the foreigner thought it was before he came into our midst. Let us give the foreign born an American standard of living and we will at once solve 90 per cent of our problem; give him a living wage, safeguard his health by factories and sanitary housing; give him a chance to work without the exploitation of demagogue, capitalist or labor leader; give him and his children a chance to play—opportunities for wholesome recreation. Give him the essentials of education and make adult education as compulsory as that of the child.

Last but not least give him a chance at the higher things of life, the good, the beautiful, and the true. Do this and you give him an American standard of living, and automatically, by a natural evolution, he will learn the English language, he will cease to live apart, he will really live and not just exist, and he will be conscious of the benefits of American life and institutions. There will be no need of pressure from without; economic and social conditions will lift him out of the slums into better neighborhoods, will give his children a better education, will give him an appreciation of America and its spirit, and lo! he will be an American second to none. America will then and then only be the true melting pot, and, as Zangwill well says:

“The East and the West, North and South, the palm and the pine, the pole and the equator, the Crescent and the Cross—how the great Alchemist melts and fuses them with his purging flame! Here shall they all unite

to build the Republic of man and the Kingdom of God. Ah, what is the glory of Rome and Jerusalem where all nations and races come to worship and look back compared with the glory of America, where all races and nations come to labor and look forward!"

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Do you agree with the idea expressed in the first paragraph? 2. How is the foreign-born laborer exploited by the demagogue, capitalist, or labor leader? 3. Who is Zangwill? 4. Can you orally interpret the full force of the antithesis contained in the closing sentence?

INTERNATIONAL UNITY*

PHILANDER C. KNOX

"We now know that freedom is a thing incompatible with corporate life and a blessing probably peculiar to the solitary robber; we know besides that every advance in richness of existence, whether moral or material, is paid for by a loss of liberty; that liberty is man's coin in which he pays his way; that luxury and knowledge and virtue, and love and the family affections are all so many fresh fetters on the naked and solitary freeman."

This was said by a distinguished writer referring to the individual units who have constructed the political systems under which society is organized. It applies with equal truth to the governments they have created. Every material and moral advance in the sodality of nations, for universal, as distinguished from local or domestic purposes, is achieved by concessions restraining to a greater or less degree the liberty

*From an address delivered before the Pennsylvania Society of New York, December, 1909.

of action of individual states for the benefit of the community of nations and in obedience to the demands of an international public opinion.

These concessions to international unity have been brought about through international conference, congresses, associations and meetings, covering such a wide range of the material needs and moral aspirations of nations, as to make it quite impossible even to specify them and their purpose with any particularity. Broadly speaking, however, they have been designed to establish common policies in large political and economic affairs, to secure coöperation in the promotion of international harmony, to assuage human hardships, to elevate the morals of the world, and to secure the blessings of uniform and enlightened justice.

"Nations have been brought together by material forces, starting into action greater immaterial forces. Electricity is finishing what steam began. Men come close together who breathe a common intellectual atmosphere; who are fed daily by the same currents of thought; who hear simultaneously of the same events; who are eager to disclose to each other whatever new thing, coming to the knowledge of any, is worthy the notice of all."

The disposition, then, to take concerted international action grows with the opportunity thus afforded by the marvelous modern development in the means of communication. Each nation instantaneously feels the compulsion of the public opinion of all nations. Compare, for example, modern exchanges of views between governments, swiftly reaching a common basis of action and resulting increasingly in ends beneficent to the whole world, with former ignorance and mutual suspicions largely due to ignorance, resulting in no common action

and permitting aggressions and abuses by single nations or small groups which to-day the concert of all nations protests against more and more loudly and less and less tolerates.

Then, just as individuals and separate nations advance in the fruits of civilization and display in their conduct higher regard for honesty and justice and peace, and less tolerance for wrong and oppression and cruelty, so these ideals of private and national conduct are manifestly inspiring all nations in their relations with each other. As nations understand each other better and the world draws closer together in the recognition of a common humanity and conscience, of common needs and purposes, there is carried into the international field the insistent demand for greater unity in enforcing everywhere the principles of a high morality and, by restraints mutually applied and observed, all the human ameliorations without which both national and international life would soon fall into anarchy and decadence.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Is it true that freedom is a blessing "peculiar to the solitary robber"?
2. What things have drawn nations closer together?

THE PRESS AND MODERN PROGRESS*

JOHN HAY

Of all the phenomena of the last hundred years there is none more wonderful than that increase of useful knowledge which has led inevitably to a corresponding

*Address at the opening of the Press Parliament of the World, at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, St. Louis, May 19, 1904.

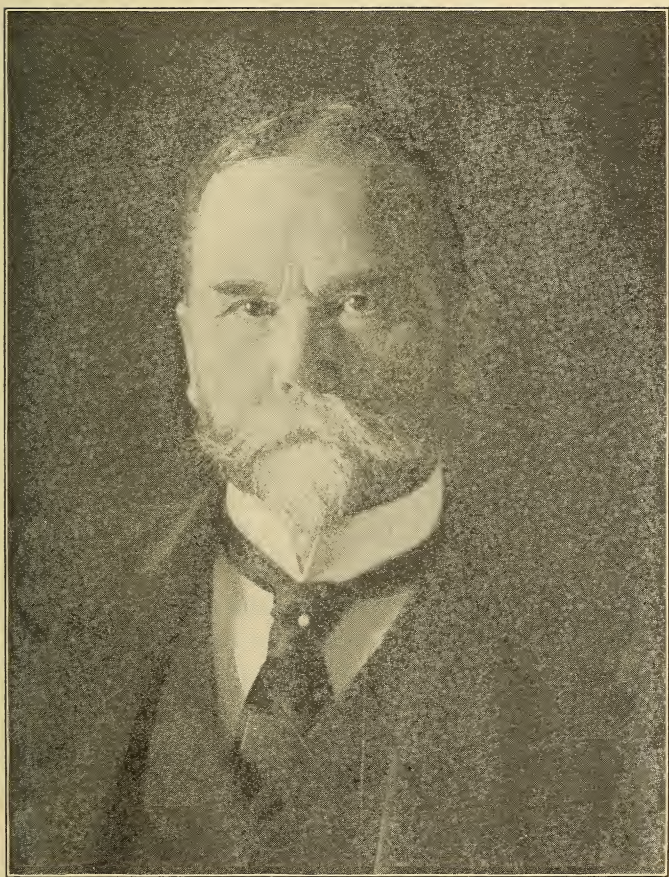
increase in mutual toleration and esteem. The credit of this great advance in civilization belongs to the press of the world. It is true that it is the modest boast of modern diplomacy that its office is the removal of misunderstandings—that so far as intentions go its ways are pleasantness and its paths are peace; but how slight are the results that the best intentioned diplomat can attain in this direction compared with the illuminating blaze of light which the press each morning radiates on the universe? We cannot claim that the light is all of one color nor that there are not many angles of refraction but from this endless variety of opinion and assertion truth at last emerges and every day adds something to the world's knowledge of itself. There is a wise French proverb, "To understand is to pardon," and every step of progress which the peoples of the earth make in their comprehension of each others conditions and motives is a step forward in the march to the goal desired by men and angels. of universal peace and brotherhood.

The highest victory of great power is that of self-restraint and it would be a beneficent result of this memorable meeting, this ecumenical council of the press. If it taught us all—the brethren of this mighty priesthood—that mutual knowledge of each other which should modify prejudices, acerbity of thought and expression, and tend to some degree to bring in that blessed time.

"When light shall spread, and man be like man

Through all the seasons of the Golden Year."

Integrity, industry, the intelligent adaptation of means to ends, are everywhere the indispensable conditions of success. Honest work, honest dealing, these qualities mark the winner in every part of the world.



JOHN HAY

The artist, the poet, the artisan and the statesman, they everywhere stand or fall through the lack or the possession of similar qualities. How shall one person hate or despise another when we have seen how like us they are in most respects, and how superior they are in some. Why should we not revert to the ancient wisdom which regarded nothing human as alien, and to the words of Holy Writ which remind us that the Almighty has made all men brethren?

Let us remember that we are met to celebrate the transfer of a vast empire from one nation to another without the firing of a shot, without the shedding of one drop of blood. If the press of the world would adopt and persist in the high resolve that war should be no more, the clangor of arms would cease from the rising of the sun to its going down, and we could fancy that at last our ears, no longer stunned by the din of armies, might hear the morning stars singing together, and all the sons of God shouting for joy.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What is an ecumenical council?
2. Why was the Louisiana Purchase Exposition held in 1904?

THE HIGHER EDUCATION OF WOMEN

GEORGE W. CURTIS

In the course of an address delivered at the celebration of the completion of the twenty-fifth academic year of Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York, on June 12, 1890, George William Curtis said:

"I challenge any lover of Massachusetts," said a great patriot and scholar at the centenary of the battle of Concord and Lexington, "to read the fifty-ninth chap-

ter of Bancroft's History without tears of joy." It is the chapter which describes the beginning of the Revolution. With something of the same feeling I may say that I challenge any lover of New York or of the American character to read the first communication of Matthew Vassar to the trustees of this college without profound gratitude and admiration. In his simple words, unconsciously to himself, speaks the truest spirit of his time and country. "It occurred to me that woman, having received from her Creator the same intellectual constitution as man, has the same right as man to intellectual culture and development." These words might well be carved in gold over the entrance of Vassar College. The fundamental truth which settles the controversy about the education of women was never more completely and exclusively expressed, and, like all fundamental truths when once adequately stated, it is simple and indisputable. Yet in that controversy, if he heeded it at all, Mr. Vassar had taken no part. The conflict with tradition and the logical consequences which his views involved, if they occurred to him, did not trouble him. "I consider," he said, "that the mothers of a country mould the character of its citizens, determine its institutions, and shape its destiny." The duty and the necessity of the thorough training of all their faculties were, therefore, to his mind unquestionable. If anybody was anxious about the sphere of woman, Mr. Vassar was not. Reason and observation had revealed it. As there was no doubt that it was for the interest of society that men should be thoroughly trained morally, intellectually, and industrially, there could be no doubt that such training was equally desirable for women, except upon the theory which advancing civilization had steadily abjured.

There is no surer sign of a more liberal civilization

and a wiser world than the perception that the bounds of legitimate womanly interest and activity are not to be set by men, as heretofore, to mark their own convenience and pleasure. The tradition of the lovely incapacity of woman reflects either the sensitive apprehension or the ignoble abasement of man. The progressive amelioration of the laws that have always restricted her equality of right, the enlarging range of her industrial occupations, and the vanishing of prejudices and follies of opinion that once seemed insuperable, these are now the signs in the heavens.

The old times indeed were good, but the new times are better. We have left woman as a slave with Homer and Pericles; we have left her as a foolish goddess with chivalry and Don Quixote; we have left her as a toy with Chesterfield and the club; and in the enlightened American daughter, wife, and mother, in the free American home, we find the fairest flower and the highest promise of American civilization.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Which one of Tennyson's longer narrative poems deals throughout with the higher education of women?

A PAN-AMERICAN POLICY*

ELIHU ROOT

No nation can live unto itself alone and continue to live. Each nation's growth is a part of the development of the race. There may be leaders and laggards, but no nation can continue long very far in advance of the

*Extract from an address at the Pan-American Conference, held at Rio Janeiro, Brazil, 1906.

general progress of mankind, and no nation that is not doomed to extinction can remain very far behind. It is with nations as it is with individual men; intercourse, association, correction of egotism by the influence of other's judgment, broadening of views by the experience and thought of equals, acceptance of the moral standards of a community, the desire of whose good opinion lends a sanction to the rules of right conduct—these are the conditions of growth in civilization. A people whose minds are not open to the lessons of the world's progress, whose spirits are not stirred by the aspirations and achievements of humanity struggling the world over for liberty and justice, must be left behind by civilization in its steady and beneficent advance.

These beneficent results the government and the people of the United States of America greatly desire. We wish for no victories but those of peace; for no territory except our own; for no sovereignty except the sovereignty over ourselves. We deem the independence and the equal rights of the smallest and weakest member of the family of nations entitled to as much respect as those of the greatest empire, and we deem the observance of that respect the chief guaranty of the weak against the oppression of the strong. We neither claim or desire any rights, or privileges, or powers that we do not concede to every American republic. We wish to increase our prosperity, to expand our trade, to grow in wealth, in wisdom, and in spirit, but our conception of the true way to accomplish this is not to pull down others and profit by their ruin, but to help all friends to a common prosperity and a common growth, that we may all become greater and stronger together.

Let us help each other to show that all the races of men, the liberty for which we have fought and labored,

is the twin sister of justice and peace. Let us unite in creating and maintaining and making effective an all-American public opinion, whose power shall influence international conduct and prevent international wrong, narrow the causes of war, and forever preserve our free lands from the burden of such armaments as are massed behind the frontiers of Europe, and bring us ever nearer to the perfection of ordered liberty. So shall come security and prosperity, production and trade, wealth, learning, the arts, and happiness for us all.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What does Mr. Root mean by the term "Pan-American"?
2. Why should our government be interested in a Pan-American policy?

THE AMERICANIZATION OF THE CAPE COD FISHERMEN*

JOSEPH C. LINCOLN

Almost any man can do a great deal, if he will, by getting the utmost possible service out of the qualities that he actually possesses.

There are two kinds of success. One is the very rare kind that comes to the man who has the power to do what no one else has the power to do. That is genius. I am not discussing what form that genius takes; whether it is the genius of a man who can write a poem that no one else can write, or of a man who can do one hundred yards in nine and three-fifth seconds. Such a man does what no one else can do. Only a very limited amount of the success of life comes to persons possessing genius. The

*Extract from an address before the Cambridge Union, May 26, 1910. By permission of *The Outlook*.

average man who is successful—the average statesman, the average public servant, the average soldier, who wins what we call great success—is not a genius. He is a man who has merely the ordinary qualities that he shares with his fellows, but who has developed those ordinary qualities to a more than ordinary degree.

I have spoken of the great successes; but what I have said applies just as much to the success that is within the reach of almost every one of us. I think that any man who has had what is regarded in the world as a great success must realize that the element of chance has played a great part in it. Of course a man has to take advantage of his opportunities; but the opportunities have to come. If there is not the war, you don't get the great general; if there is not a great occasion, you don't get the great statesman; if Lincoln had lived in times of peace, no one would have known his name now. The great crisis must come, or no man has the chance to develop great qualities.

There are exceptional cases, of course, where there is a man who can do just one thing, such as a man who can play a dozen games of chess or juggle with four rows of figures at once—and, as a rule, he can do nothing else. A man of this type can do nothing unless in the one crisis for which his powers fit him. But normally the man who makes the great success when the emergency arises is the man who would have made a fair success in any event. I believe that the man who is really happy in a great position—in what we call a career—is the man who would also be happy and regard his life as successful if he had never been thrown into that position. If a man lives a decent life and does his work fairly and squarely so that those dependent on him and attached to him are better for his having lived, then he is a success, and

he deserves to feel that he has done his duty and he deserves to be treated by those who have had greater success, as nevertheless having shown the fundamental qualities that entitle him to respect.

There is no man here to-day who has not the chance so to shape his life that he shall have the right to feel when his life ends that he has made a real success of it; and his making a real success of it does not in the least depend upon the prominence of the position he holds.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Why would Lincoln have been unknown had there been no war in 1861?
2. What is your idea of the most successful man?

THE CONDITIONS OF A SUCCESSFUL LIFE*

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

Every New Englander can have but the highest and most profound respect for that brave band of wayfarers who came to Plymouth in the old days. In the first place, everybody must respect them for believing in things. They believed in God, and they believed in the right, and they believed in honesty and they believed in freedom—and freedom did not in their case mean lawlessness or license. They believed, too, in work. That sounds unusual to-day, but they did. They believed not only in the honor of a day's work, and that an honest day's pay should go for a day's work, but they believed that an honest day's work should be delivered for a day's pay.

*Adapted from a speech at the annual dinner of the New England Society of New York City, December 22, 1919.

They did not talk largely of community rights, perhaps, but they certainly looked out for the rights of their community. Do you remember that first winter when all well enough to do it, from the highest to the lowest, went out and dug clams for the sustenance of the starving? If that had happened to-day, the Amalgamated Order of Clam Diggers would have seized the opportunity to strike.

When I think of the Pilgrim fathers, naturally I think of the old sea captains of Cape Cod. Those men had many of the Pilgrim characteristics. They were honest, they were hard workers, they were fearless, and they were brave.

Another thing for which they stood undeviatingly, was their love of this country, their patriotism. You see, in the old days, the days without cables, the days without wireless, when a ship put out from a port with an American flag flying, that ship was a little section of the United States, and the men in charge of her assumed that responsibility; they felt they carried that little bit of the United States to the rest of the world. I do not mean they went about with a chip on their shoulders. I think they felt more like, to use a better expression, pitying anyone unfortunate enough not to be a citizen of the United States. I knew one captain who told me a story which illustrates this. He said that once his ship was at the entrance to the Suez Canal, and he decked the ship with flags, and the English Consul there came aboard and said, "Captain, why have you got your ship decorated?" And the captain replied, "This is the 17th of June." And the Consul said, "What does that mean?" The captain said to him, "That's the anniversary of the Battle of Bunker Hill." Then the Consul remarked, "The battle of Bunker Hill? I never knew why you

Americans should want to celebrate the anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill. Why, we were on that hill when the battle was over." And the captain told me, "I leaned forward and tapped that fellow on the shoulder and I said, 'Son, who's on that hill now?'"

You know, we have all a pet wish. I think my pet wish sometimes is just this: I wish I could set back the clock of time for a little and carry with it persons and events. I should like to set back the clock to some time in the fifties, and then I should like to take a dozen of our friends in the I. W. W. and the Soviet ranks, who care nothing for America, and I should like to add to them some of our back-parlor Trotskys—I should like to take that dozen selected and ship them aboard an old-time Cape Cod ship with a Cape Cod captain and Cape Cod mates, and send the outfit on a long voyage. Believe me, my friends, when the port was reached that crew would either be mighty good Americans or mighty feeble Bolsheviks.

So here's to those old ancestors of ours. They believed in and they were grateful to this land, the land that afforded them a refuge and freedom. It seems to me that upon us now rests the responsibility to carry on this democracy which they founded as they would have wished us to do, along the lines they laid down. Well, I have faith in America, and I believe America is going to do it.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Who is the author, and why does he "naturally" allude to the Cape Cod fishermen? 2. Compare this story with that of Philip Nolan, in Edward Everett Hale's "Man Without a Country." 3. What is meant by "our back-parlor Trotskys"?

